

A SHORT HISTORY OF
**MODERN
PEOPLES**

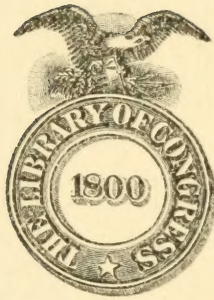
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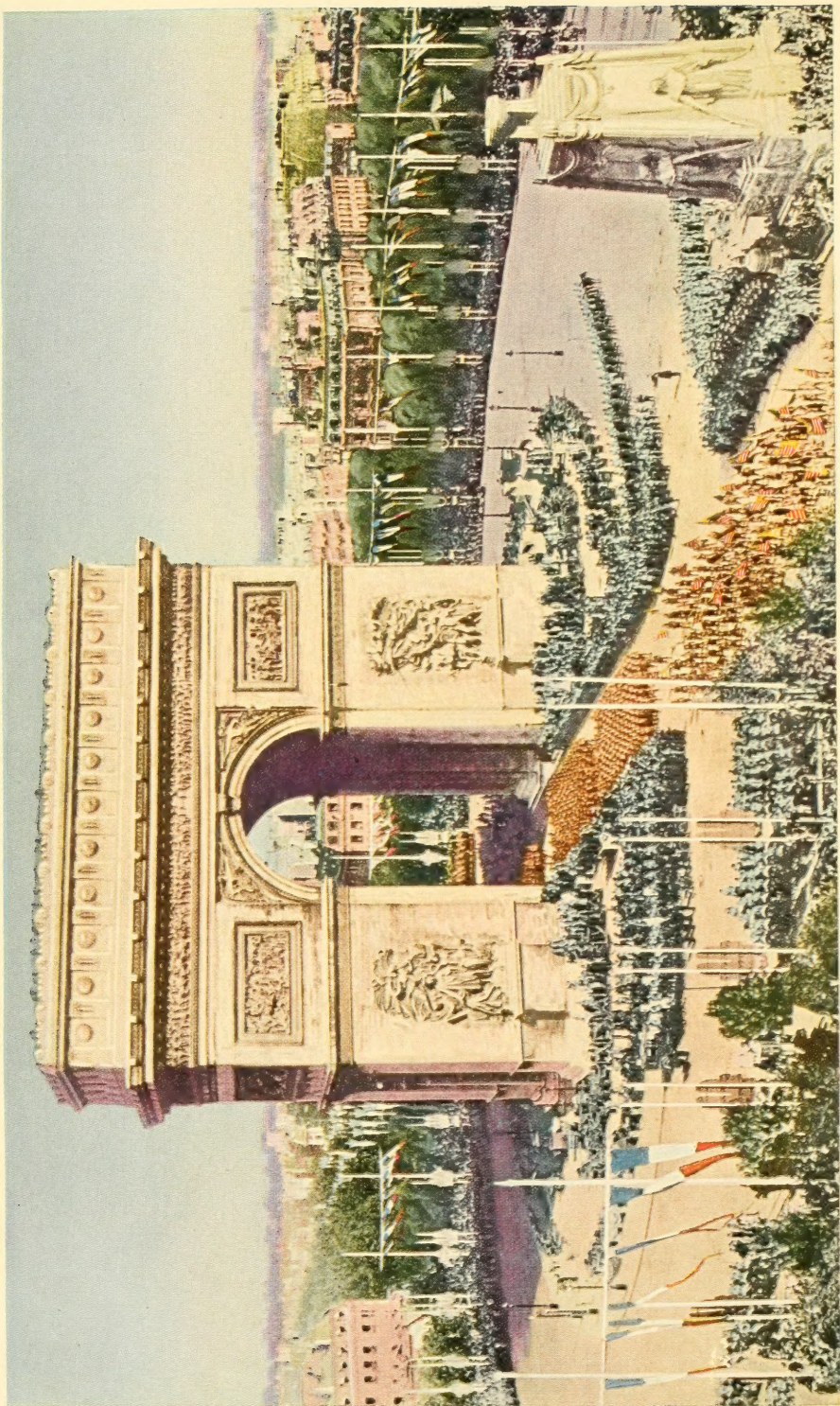


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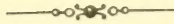
A SHORT HISTORY OF MODERN PEOPLES

(PART II OF *WORLD PROGRESS*)

BY

WILLIS MASON WEST

SOMETIME PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA



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FOREWORD

THE growing demand in high schools for a one-year course in European history led me some months ago to write my *World Progress*. It is now decided to publish that work not only in the one-volume form but also in two "Parts," each adapted to a half-year course. The first part, carrying the story of civilization up to the sixteenth century, appears under the title *A Short History of Early Peoples*. The second part, bringing that story up to the present time, is the present volume.

Throughout, my aim has been to select topics that make the past live again, and that at the same time form a continuous story and prepare for an understanding of the social problems of to-day. So brief a survey demands the rigid exclusion of unessentials. Recent developments, however, lead to a somewhat new emphasis upon the story of Spanish America as well as upon that of China and Japan. The omission of United States history, except where intimately interwoven with Old World development, is made possible by the fact that happily that subject has won for itself a full and separate high-school year.

WILLIS MASON WEST

WINDAGO FARM

December 1, 1922

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PART VIII — THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION,
1520-1648

CHAPTER XXXV

THE REFORMATION UPON THE CONTINENT

I. LUTHERANISM

The later references to the church have involved some mention of abuses growing up within it (pp. 306, 315). Good Christians lamented those abuses. A few broad-minded, genial men, like Erasmus, strove earnestly to *reform* them. Less patient, more impetuous men broke away from the old church in a revolt which became the Protestant "Reformation."

The need
for religious
reform

The revolt began in Germany. That land lacked a strong government to protect it, and so its hard-won, little wealth was drained away to richer Italy by papal taxes of many sorts. Nowhere else was this condition so serious. From peasant to prince, the German people had long grumbled as they paid, and they needed only a leader to rise against papal control.

Special
abuses in
Germany

Martin Luther, son of a Thuringian peasant-miner, became that leader. Luther was a born fighter, — a straightforward man, with a blunt, homely way that sometimes degenerated into coarseness. As an Augustinian friar, his effective preaching had attracted the attention of Duke Frederick the Wise of Saxony, who made him a professor of theology in the new University of Wittenberg.

Martin
Luther.
1483-1546

Luther's revolt *began* in his opposition to the sale of indulgences. The pope was rebuilding St. Peter's Cathedral at Rome with great magnificence. To help raise money for that purpose, a German archbishop had licensed John Tetzel, a Dominican, to grant indulgences. The practice was an old one, arising easily out of the doctrine of "penance." The authorized

Luther and
the sale of
indulgences

teaching of the church was, that, in reward for some pious act — or for the gift of money for a pious purpose — a sinner *who had truly repented and who had, so far as possible, atoned for his sins*, might have the punishment due *in purgatory* remitted by the church. The ignorant masses, unable to read the Latin documents, often thought that such an “indulgence” was an *unconditional* pardon, — contrary to the doctrine of the church; and some professional “pardoners,” who peddled such “letters,” encouraged this gross error. Tetzl was a special offender in this way. A rude German rhyme, ascribed to him, runs, “The money rattles in the box; the soul from purgatory flies.” More than a hundred years before, the bright-souled Chaucer had given the only bitter lines in his *Canterbury Tales* to the Pardoner with his wallet “bret-full of pardons, come from Rome all hot.” Now a visit of Tetzl to Wittenberg, with a batch of these papal letters, aroused Luther to more vehement protest.

Luther's
theses
arouse
Germany

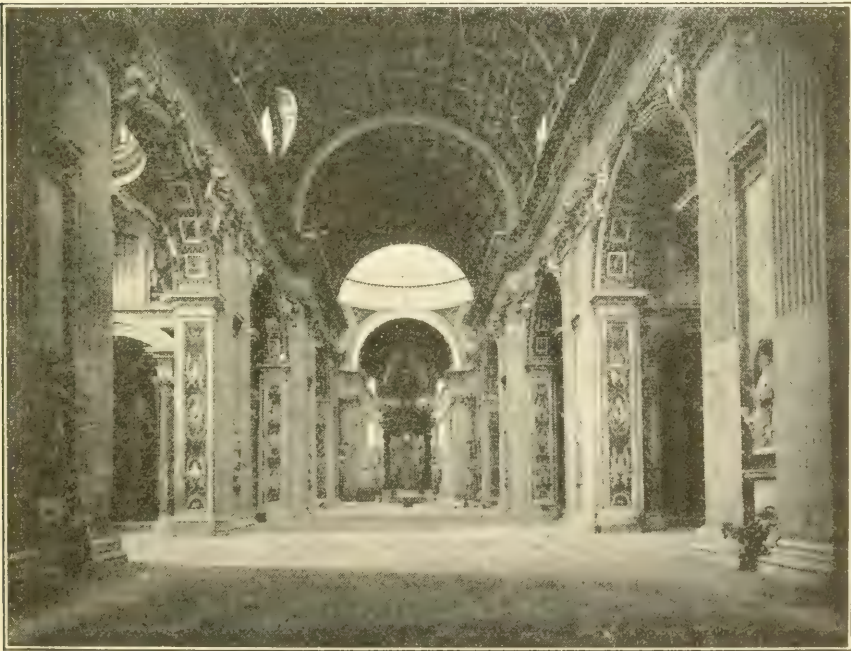
On a Sunday in October, 1517, Luther nailed to the door of the Wittenberg church ninety-five “theses” (statements) against the practice of selling indulgences, upon which he challenged all comers to debate. That door was the usual university bulletin board where it was customary for one scholar to challenge others to debate. But Luther's act had consequences far beyond the university. The theses were *in Latin*, the regular university language; but the printing press scattered copies broadcast *in German*, and in a few days they were being discussed hotly over all Germany.

Luther and
the pope

Soon, however, this matter dropped out of sight. The papal legate in Germany reprimanded Tetzl sternly for his gross mispractice; and the church corrected the abuse. But, meanwhile, Luther adopted more radical opinions; and in 1519 he *denied the authority of the pope, appealing instead to the Bible as the sole rule of conduct and belief*.¹ Then when at last a papal

¹ Luther *tried* to substitute one authority for another. But the Bible is capable of many interpretations. His appeal to the Bible as the sole authority meant Luther's understanding of the Bible. In the mouth of another man, however, the same appeal meant that other's understanding of the book. So, *unintentionally*, the Protestant revolt came to stand for *the right of individual judgment*.

PLATE LV



ST. PETER'S, ROME. — The interior view shows the nave (central aisle) as one enters, looking east. On the right of the exterior view is shown the Vatican, the papal residence.

St. Peter's was not completed until far into the seventeenth century, but it owes most of its glory to the work upon it of artists of the late Renaissance period, like Raphael and Michael Angelo. The form of this greatest of churches is that of a cross, surmounted, at the junction of the arms, by a dome 138 feet across, the dominating feature of the building and probably the most famous dome in the world.

bull ordered him to recant and to burn his heretical writings, *Luther burned instead the papal bull* in a bonfire of other writings of the church, before the town gate in *December, 1520*, while a crowd of students and townsfolk brought fuel.

Luther
burns the
papal bull



LUTHER'S DEFIANCE AT WORMS, — a modern painting by Von Werner.

The pope appealed to the young emperor, Charles V (p. 320) to punish the heretic. Germany was in uproar. The Emperor called an imperial Diet¹ at Worms (1521) and summoned Luther to be present, pledging safe conduct. Friends tried to dissuade Luther from going, pointing to the fate of Hus a century before; but he replied merely, "I would go on if there were as many devils in Worms as there are tiles on the housetops." At the Diet he was confronted with scornful contempt by the great dignitaries of the church and of the empire. But to the haughty command that he recant, he answered firmly, "Unless I am proven wrong by Scripture or plain reason . . . my conscience is caught in the word of God. . . . Here I stand. As God is my help, I can no otherwise."

Luther at
Worms

¹ The German *Diet* in early times contained only nobles. In the fourteenth century, representatives of the "free cities" were admitted. Then the Diet sat usually in three Houses, Electors (the seven great princes), Princes (of second rank), and City Representatives. It never gained any real place in the government of the Empire.

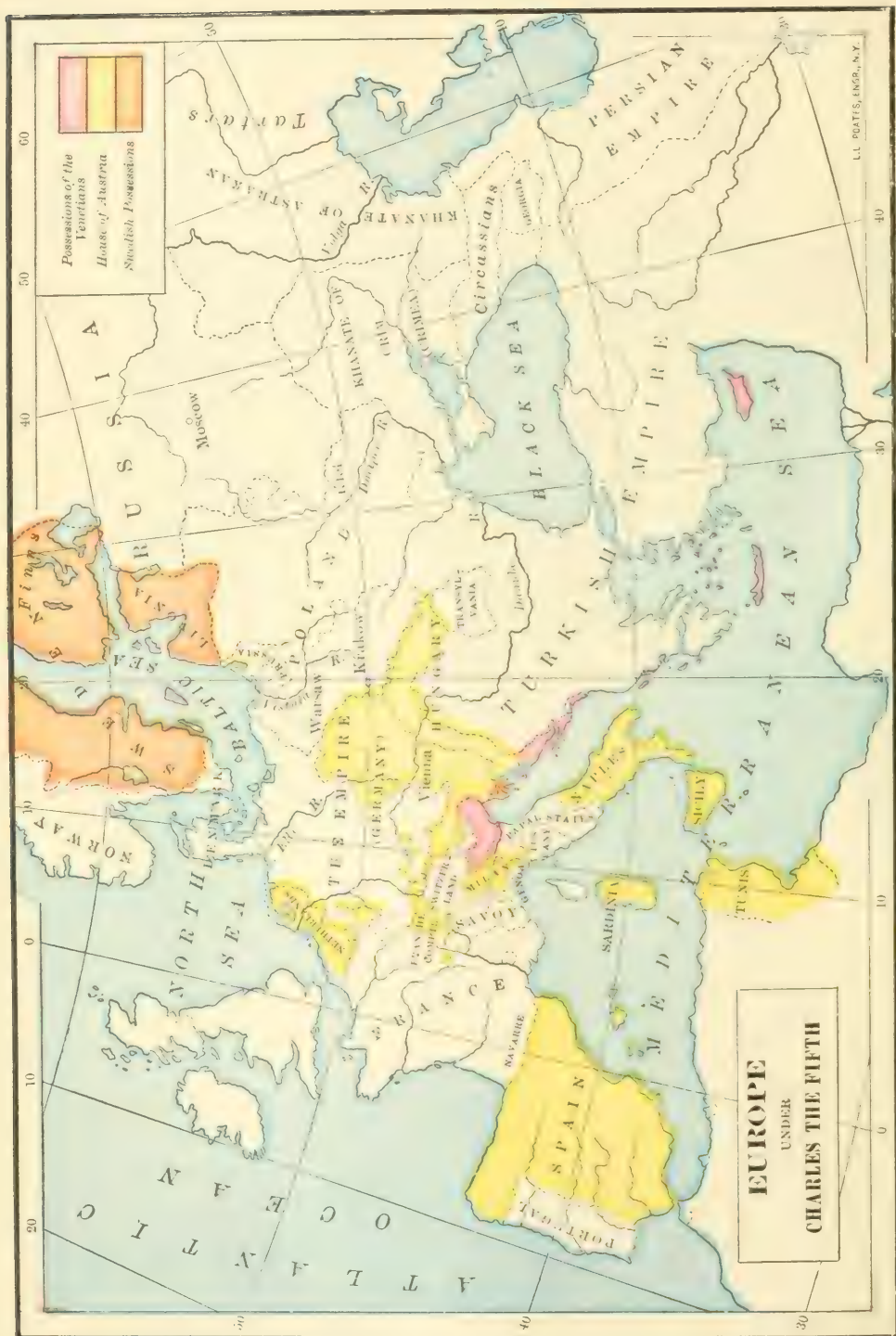
**A German
Bible**

Charles kept his pledge; but a month later the Diet pronounced against Luther the "ban of the Empire," ordering that he be seized for execution. The friendly Frederick of Saxony, however, had had him seized, on his way homeward, and carried into hiding in the castle of Wartburg. Most of his followers



LUTHER'S ROOM IN THE WARTBURG. — The desk is the one at which he penned his translation of the Bible. The broken plaster commemorates an interesting incident. Believing that Satan had come to tempt him, Luther hurled his ink bottle at the apparition. The ink splashed the plaster; and visitors have picked off pieces of the bespattered wall for souvenirs. Luther's picture, above the desk, is a modern addition to the room.

mourned him as dead; but in this refuge Luther translated the New Testament into strong and simple German. While he was still in hiding, his teachings were accepted by whole communities. Priests married; nuns and monks left their convents; powerful princes joined the new communion, sometimes from honest conviction, sometimes as an excuse for seizing church lands.



In 1522, Luther left his retreat to guide the movement again in person and to restrain it from going further than he liked. Changes in religion, he urged, should be made only *by the governments*, not by the people: and he preserved all that he could of the old church services and organization, establishing them on essentially the basis on which they still stand in the Lutheran church. *By 1530, that church had won North Germany.*

Lutheranism wins the North German princes

Meantime the revolt against the old church had led to the growth of some extreme sects of wild fanatics; and in 1525 there had been a great rising of the peasants, demanding, "in the name of God's justice," the abolition of serfdom and the right of each parish to choose its own pastor. The peasants in Germany were in a much more deplorable condition than in England, and, when they found arms in their hands, in several places they avenged centuries of cruel oppression by massacres of old masters.

The peasant rising in 1525

Luther, fearing discredit for his new church, called furiously on the princes to put down this rising with the sword — to "smite, strangle, or stab"; and the movement was stamped out brutally in blood, with ghastly scenes that infinitely surpassed in horror any excesses by the ignorant peasants themselves. The whole peasant class was crushed down to a level far lower than before, — lower than anywhere else in Europe, — where they were to remain helpless for almost three hundred years.

Luther preaches a war against the peasants

In 1529 another Diet reaffirmed the decree of Worms. Against this condemnation the Lutherans presented a formal protest — which gave them the name *Protestant*. Charles V, the young emperor, was a zealous churchman, and if his hands had been free, he would have crushed Lutheranism at its birth. But even while the Diet of Worms was condemning Luther, the Spanish towns were rising in revolt and Francis I of France was seizing Italian territory (p. 320), and very soon Solymán the Magnificent (the Turkish Sultan) invaded Austria. Charles promptly crushed the ancient liberties of the Spanish towns; but the wars against France and the Turk, with only brief truces, filled the next twenty-three years (1521-1544).

Foreign wars keep Charles V from acting

When Charles *did* find his hands free for Germany, Protestantism was too strong even for his power, and he was forced to accept the Peace of Augsburg (1555), which left each prince of the Empire free to choose the religion for his province. (The people were expected docilely to accept the religion of their ruler.)

Abdication
of Charles

The Protestants in their danger had sought aid from the French king; and France for her reward had seized some German districts, including the city of Metz. Chagrined at the loss, and disheartened by the split within the Empire, Charles abdicated his many crowns in 1556. His brother *Ferdinand* became ruler of Austria, and soon after was chosen Emperor. Charles' son, *Philip II*, received the Netherlands, Spain, Naples, and Spanish America. There were now *two* Hapsburg Houses, one in Spain, one in Austria. *France feared that she might be crushed between them*, and became eager to take advantage of any chance to weaken them.

II. CALVINISM — IN SWITZERLAND AND FRANCE

While Lutheranism was winning North Germany (and Scandinavia), another form of Protestantism, *Calvinism*, was growing up in Switzerland and, for a time, in France and even in the west of Germany.

Zwingli and
Luther

This movement was started in 1519 (the year *before* Luther burned the papal bull), by *Zwingli*, a priest at Zürich, in Switzerland. Zwingli was far more radical than Luther. Luther *tried to keep everything* of the old worship and doctrine *that he did not think forbidden* by the Bible. But Zwingli *refused to keep anything* of the old *that he did not think absolutely commanded* by the Bible. He also organized a strict system of church discipline which severely punished gaming, swearing, drunkenness, and some innocent sports. Before continuing this story, however, it is best to learn a little about Swiss history.

Rise of
Switzerland

The sturdy peasantry of the Swiss mountains preserved much of the ancient Teutonic independence and democracy even in the feudal age, though their districts had fallen under

PLATE LVI



CHARLES V AT THE BATTLE OF MUHLBERG, — a painting by the contemporary Venetian artist Titian. This painting (now in Madrid) pictures the Emperor at the summit of his power, in 1547, — and just before the collapse. Shortly before, he had forced the French king to sue for peace, and had won a truce from the Turk. In the battle of Muhlberg (aided by the defection of Maurice of Saxony from the Protestant princes) he for the moment crushed Protestantism in Germany. But Maurice again changed sides: the Protestants rallied; and a few months later Charles fled from Germany, barely escaping capture.

the control (more or less strict) of neighboring nobles. Some small "cantons" in the German Alps belonged to the Hapsburg Counts. When Rudolph of Hapsburg (p. 315) became duke of distant Austria, he left these former possessions to subordinate officials — who oppressed the people. Accordingly, in 1294 three "forest cantons" — *Uri*, *Schwyz*, and *Unterwalden* — united in a "perpetual league" for mutual defense. For two centuries, from time to time, the Hapsburgs sent armies against this union; and soon the league against oppression by the lord's agents became a league for full independence. Freedom was finally established by two great victories, — Morgarten (1315) and Sempach (1386) — to which belong the legends of William Tell and of Winkelried.

Meantime, other neighboring districts had rebelled against feudal overlords and joined the league; and some of these new members were city-states — Bern, Zürich, and Luzern, richer and more aristocratic than the original cantons of farmer folk. The union remained a *loose* confederacy (mainly to manage foreign wars). The cantons sometimes quarreled among themselves — as over this matter of the Reformation. (Indeed Zwingli fell in 1531 in a battle between Zurich and the original three cantons, which had remained Catholic.) But *there was no powerful central government to stamp out the new movement.*

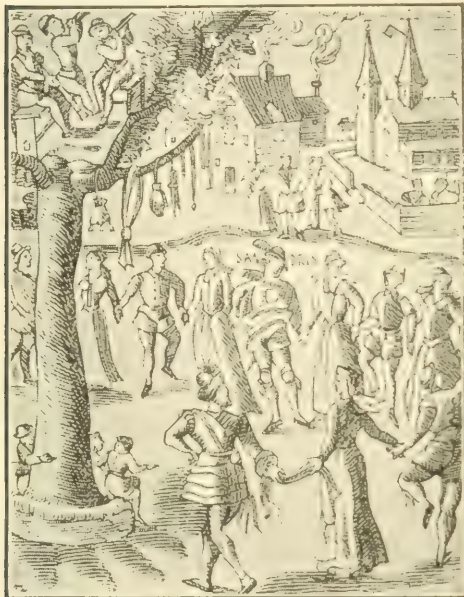
Now *Geneva*, a French town in the Alps, quarreled with its feudal lord, and, for its greater safety, joined the Swiss league. Its former lord had been a Catholic bishop; and so Geneva welcomed the new doctrines of Zwingli. Five years after the death of that leader, *John Calvin* (a fugitive from France because of religious heresy) found refuge at Geneva, and soon became there an absolute dictator over both church and government. Geneva became a Puritan "theocracy," "with Calvin for its pope."

John Calvin
at Geneva

This remarkable man was a young French scholar of sternly logical mind. He became the father of Puritan theology and of the Presbyterian church, with its synods and presbyteries. Undoubtedly he took the law of Moses rather than the spirit of Christ for the basis of his legislation: but his writings in-

Calvinism
in Scotland,
England,
and America

fluenced profoundly his own and future times. Ardent reformers from all Europe flocked to Geneva to imbibe his teachings, and then returned to spread *Calvinism* in their own lands. From Geneva came the seeds of *Scotch Presbyterianism*, of the



A VILLAGE MAYPOLE FESTIVAL of the sixteenth century, such as Calvin condemned.

great *Puritan movement* within the *English church* (soon to be treated), of the leading *Protestant movement* among the *Dutch*, and of the *Huguenot church* of *France*. It is from the French Calvin, not the German Luther, that modern liberal Protestantism has sprung. True, Calvin did not believe in democracy, and he taught that for "subjects" to resist even a wicked ruler was "to resist God;" but, in spite of this teaching, in the course of historical movements, Calvinism became the ally of political freedom in Holland, England, and America.

III. CATHOLICISM KEEPS THE SOUTH OF EUROPE

The
"Counter-
Reforma-
tion"

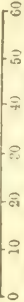
For a time, Protestantism promised to win also the south of Europe; but *Spain, Italy, France, Bohemia, and South Germany* were finally saved to *Catholicism*.

This was mainly because the old church quickly purged itself of old abuses. At first Erasmus and other Humanists had been interested in the work of Luther. But when it became plain that that movement was breaking up the unity of Christendom, they were violently repelled by it. Disruption into warring sects, they felt, was a greater evil than existing faults. They continued to work, however, with even greater zeal than before, for reform within the church. Such reform was finally carried

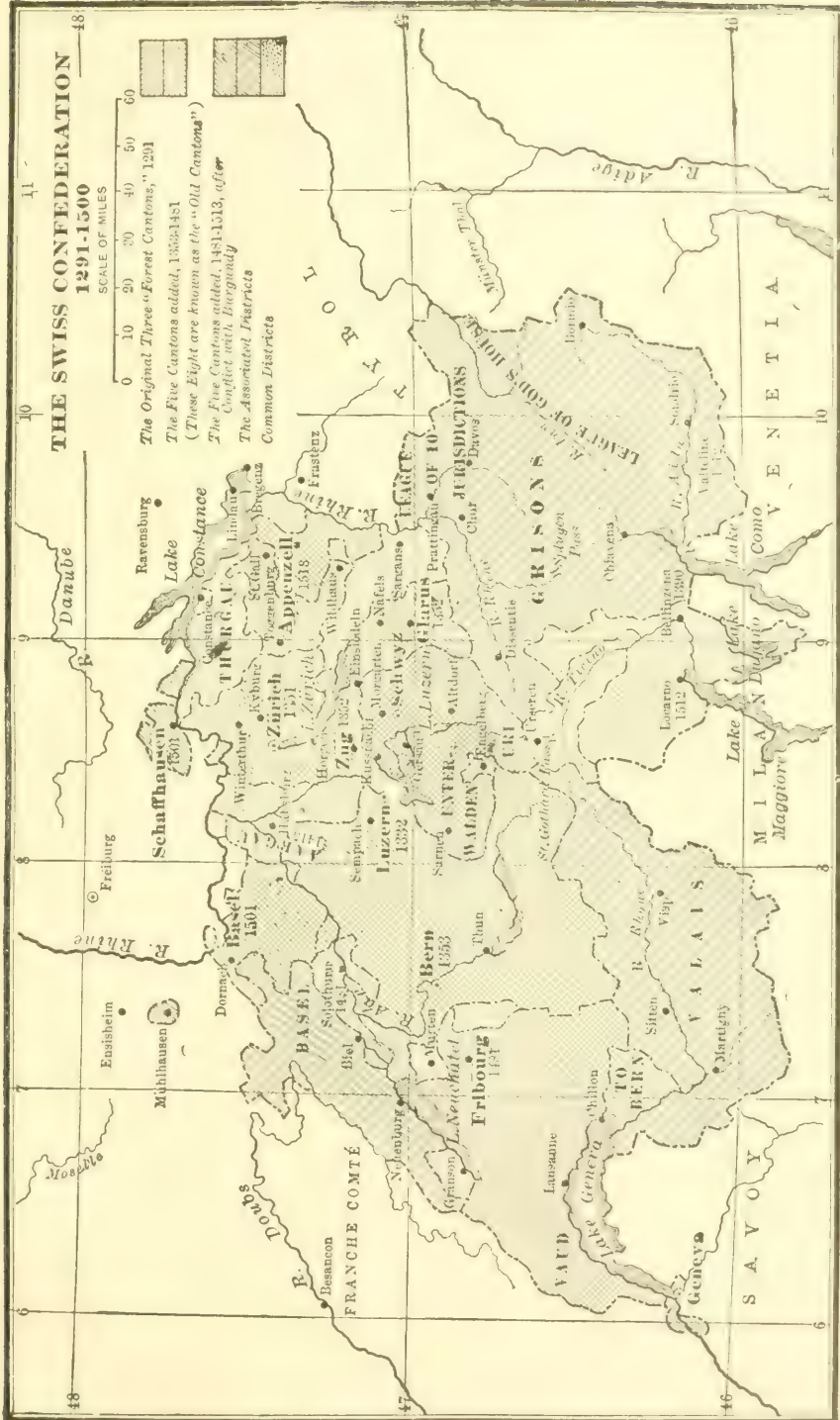
THE SWISS CONFEDERATION

1291-1500

SCALE OF MILES



The Original Three "Forest Cantons," 1291
 (These Five Cantons added, 1352-1481)
 The Five Cantons added, 1481-1513, after
 Conflict with Burgundy
 The Associated Districts
 Common Districts



out by the *Council of Trent* (1545-1563). That great body did not change Catholic forms; but it defined some doctrines more exactly, and infused a greater moral energy into the church.

The new religious enthusiasm within the Catholic world gave birth, also, to several new religious orders. The most important of these was the "Order of Jesus" (Jesuits), founded in 1534 by *Ignatius Loyola*, a gallant Spanish gentleman of deep religious feeling. The Jesuits stood to the friars somewhat as the friars stood to the older monks. Holding fast like the friars to an intensely religious private life, *they represented a further advance into the world of public affairs*. Their members mingled with men in *all* capacities. Especially did they distinguish themselves as *statesmen* and as *teachers*. Their schools were the best in Europe, and many a Protestant youth was drawn back by them to Catholicism; and their many devoted missionaries among the heathen in the New World won vast regions to Christianity and Catholicism.

The Jesuits

Unhappily less praiseworthy forces had a share in the victory of Catholicism. Religious wars, we shall see (p. 348 ff.), in large part kept France, Bohemia, and South Germany Catholic; and elsewhere the final success of the Catholic church in crushing out Protestantism was due in part to *the Inquisition*.

The
Inquisition

The Inquisition dated back to the twelfth century. At that time the church had suffered one of its periods of decline; and discontent with its corruption had given rise to several small heresies. The most important of these sects were *the Albigenses* in southeastern France. They rejected some church doctrines, and they rebelled against church government by pope and priesthood — so that an old by-word, "I had rather be a Jew," became, for them, "I had rather be a priest"!

Origin three
centuries
earlier

The church had made many vain attempts to reclaim these heretics, and finally, the great reforming pope, Innocent III, proclaimed a "holy war" against them, declaring them "more wicked than Saracens." The feudal nobles of northern France rallied gladly to this war, hungry for the rich plunder of the more civilized south; and a twenty years' struggle, marked by ferocious massacres, crushed the heretics. When *open re-*

sistance ceased in desolated Languedoc, the pope set up a special court to hunt out and exterminate any *secret* heretics remaining there. Soon afterward, *this court*, enlarged and reorganized, became a regular part of the government of the church for suppressing heresy. In this final form it is commonly known as the *Spanish* Inquisition, though it held sway also in Portugal and Italy.

**The Spanish
Inquisition
and Prot-
estantism**

In the south of Europe, now, the Inquisition became one means of stifling the new Protestant heresies. The court seldom confronted the accused with his accuser, or allowed him witnesses of his choosing; and it extorted confession by cruel tortures, carried to a point where human courage could not endure. The property of the convicted went to enrich the church, and the heretic himself was handed over to the government for death by fire. *Persecution of unbelievers was characteristic of the age. It disgraced every sect, Protestant as well as Catholic.* But no Protestant land possessed a device so admirably calculated to accomplish its purpose as the Inquisition.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Beard's *Martin Luther*, or (briefer but excellent) Lindsay's *Luther and the German Reformation*; Ward's *The Counter-Reformation*; Robinson's *Readings in European History*, for source material. Parkman's histories, especially *Pioneers of New France* (chs. v and vi) and *Jesuits in North America* (ch. ii) contain interesting accounts of Jesuit missionaries. If available, the scholarly *Catholic Encyclopedia* should be consulted for its articles on "Luther" and "Indulgences."

CHAPTER XXXVI

ENGLAND AND THE PROTESTANT MOVEMENT

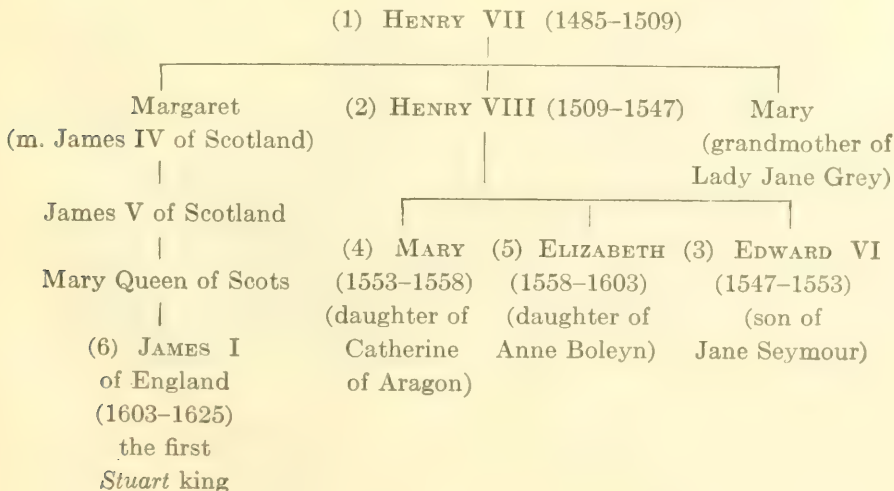
In England Henry VIII¹ had shown himself zealous against Luther, and had even written a book to controvert Luther's teaching, in return for which the pope had conferred upon him the title, "Defender of the Faith." A little later, however, Henry desired a divorce from his wife, the unfortunate Catherine of Aragon, aunt of Charles V (p. 320). Catherine's only child was a girl (Mary), and Henry was anxious for a son. More to the point, he wished to marry Anne Boleyn, a lady of the court.

Henry VIII
and his
quarrel with
the pope

After long negotiation, the pope refused to grant the divorce. Thereupon Henry put himself in the place of the pope so far as his island was concerned, and secured the divorce from his own courts. The clergy and people were then forbidden to

A Church
of England

¹Cf. p. 311. The following table of Tudor rulers shows also the claim of the first ruler of the next royal family. (Three of Henry VIII's wives, by whom he had no children, are not shown.)



make any further payments to "the Bishop of Rome" (1532), and an "Act of Supremacy" declared Henry the "only supreme head on earth of the Church of England." When Parliament passed these laws, the Augsburg Confession had just been put into form; and Calvin was about to take up Zwingli's work.

Thus in England, separation from Rome was due at first to personal motives of the monarch. *So far there had been no attack on the religious doctrines of the old church; and Henry wished none.* But his chief advisers, especially Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had pronounced his divorce, had strong Protestant leanings; and so *some additional measures were secured.* The doctrine of purgatory was declared false; and the Bible, *in English*, was introduced into the church service, in place of the old Latin liturgy.

Dissolution
of the
monasteries

Most of England accepted these changes calmly, and even the clergy made no serious resistance, as a class, to the overthrow of the pope's power; but the monasteries were centers of criticism. Henry determined to root out resistance, and to enrich himself, by their utter ruin; and, at the king's wish, Parliament dissolved the seven hundred such institutions in England. A little of their wealth was set aside to found schools and hospitals (in place of the work in such lines formerly done by the monasteries themselves), but Henry seized most of the monastic lands for the crown. Then he parceled out parts of them, shrewdly, to new nobles and the gentry. Thousands of influential families were enriched by such gifts, and became centers of hostility to any reconciliation with Rome that would ruin their private fortunes.

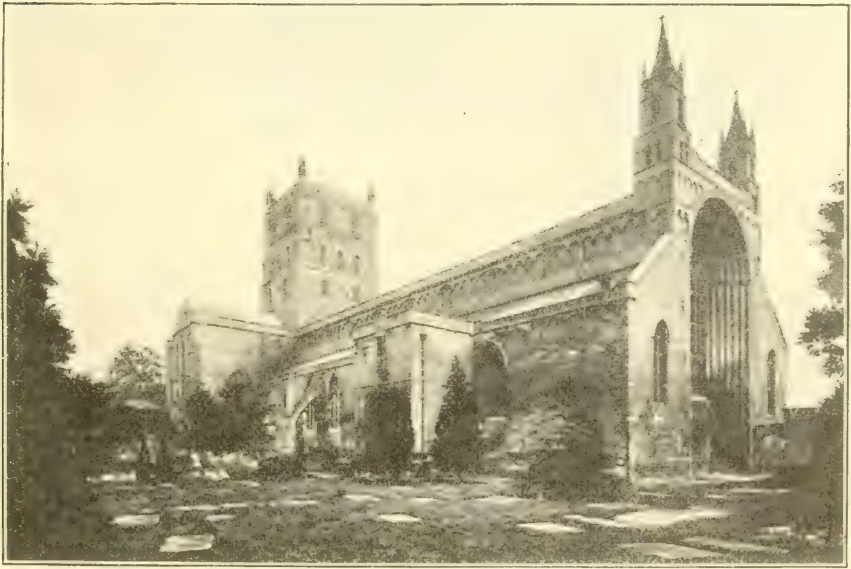
Henry
burns
Protestants
and hangs
Catholics

These changes were as far as Henry would go; and, to the close of his long reign, he beheaded "traitors" who recognized papal headship, and burned "heretics" who denied papal doctrines. In one day, in 1540, three "heretics" and three "traitors" suffered death. The most famous martyr was the Catholic Sir Thomas More (p. 324).

Edward VI,
1547-1553

Henry was succeeded by his son Edward VI. The new king was a boy of nine, and during his short reign the government was held by a rapacious clique of Protestant lords.

PLATE LVII



ABOVE. — TINTERN ABBEY TO-DAY. (The road is modern.)

BELOW. — TEWKSBURY ABBEY TO-DAY: one of the very few such structures to escape ruin.

Partly to secure fresh plunder, these men tried to carry England into the full current of the Protestant movement. Priests were allowed to marry. The use of the old litany, and of incense, holy water, and the surplice, was forbidden. Commissioners to carry out these commands throughout England sometimes broke the stained glass windows of sacred buildings and tore from the pedestals the carved forms of saints. Rebellion was put down cruelly, several Catholics were burned as heretics and conspirators, — among them Father Forest, who was roasted barbarously in a swinging iron cradle over a slow fire.



SIR THOMAS MORE. — After Rubens' copy of Holbein's portrait.

During this period, the *English Prayer Book* was put into its present form, under the direction of Cranmer (p. 340); and articles of faith were adopted which inclined toward Calvinistic doctrine.

Henry had had Parliament fix the order in which his children should be entitled to succeed him; and so when Edward died at fifteen, the throne passed to his elder half-sister, Mary, daughter of Catherine of Aragon. Mary was an earnest Catholic, and felt an intense personal repugnance for the Protestant movement which had begun in England by the disgrace of her mother. The nation was still overwhelmingly Catholic in feeling. The Protestants were active, organized, and influential; but they were few in numbers, and Mary had no

**Queen
Mary tries
to restore
Catholicism,
1553-1558**

difficulty in doing away with the Protestant innovations of her brother's time. But *she wanted* more than this: she wished to undo her father's work, and *to restore England to its allegiance to the pope*. Parliament readily voted the repeal of all anti-Catholic laws, but it refused stubbornly to restore the church lands. Finally the pope wisely waived this point. Then the nation was solemnly absolved, and received back into the Roman church.

Mary's
persecutions

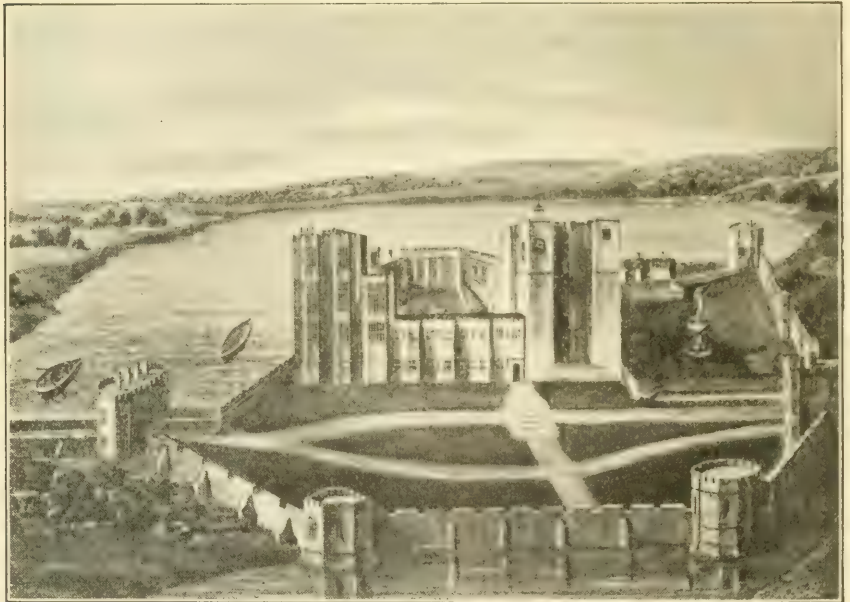
But Mary destroyed her work by marrying Philip of Spain, son of the Emperor Charles V, and *by a bloody persecution of Protestants*. All English patriots dreaded, with much reason, lest little England be made a mere province of the world-wide Spanish rule; and even zealous Catholics shuddered at the thought of the Spanish Inquisition, looming up behind the Queen's hated Spanish bridegroom.

Mary's persecution in itself was quite enough to rouse popular fear and hatred. *In a few months*, more than two hundred and seventy martyrs were burned, — nearly half the entire number that suffered death for conscience' sake (avowedly) in all English history. Catholics had died for their faith under both Henry and Edward; but *there had been no such piling up of executions*; and, moreover, most of those Catholic victims had been put to death, *nominally*, not for religious opinions, but as detested traitors; and the executions (with a very few exceptions) had taken place not by fire but by the more familiar headsman's ax. England had taken calmly the persecutions by these preceding sovereigns, but it was now deeply stirred. The most famous martyrs were Archbishop Cranmer and Bishops Ridley and Latimer. Latimer had preached in approval of the torture of Father Forest; but now he showed at least that he too knew how to die a hero. "Play the man, Master Ridley," he called out to his companion as they approached the stake; "we shall this day, by God's grace, light such a candle in England as, I trust, shall never be put out."

Mary's un-
popularity

Other causes, too, made the Queen unpopular. To please her husband, she led England into a silly and disastrous war with France, and then managed it blunderingly. England had

PLATE LVIII



ABOVE. — RUINS OF KENILWORTH CASTLE TO-DAY.

BELOW. — KENILWORTH IN 1620, from a fresco painting of that year. Queen Elizabeth gave this castle to her favorite, the Earl of Leicester, who entertained the Queen there with a splendid pageant described in Scott's *Kenilworth*. The walls enclosed seven acres.

never seemed more contemptible to other nations; and apparently, it was doomed to become the prey of Spain or France. Mary died after a troubled reign of five years. As Henry's parliaments had arranged, she was succeeded by her half-sister, Elizabeth.

Elizabeth was the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. From her father, she had a strong body, a powerful intellect, an imperious will, and dauntless courage; and from both parents, a sort of bold beauty and a strain of coarseness. She had grown up in Henry's court among the men of the New Learning, and was probably the best educated woman of her century, — speaking several languages and reading both Latin and Greek. She has been called "a true child of the Renaissance," too, in her freedom from moral scruple. To Elizabeth, says a great historian, "a lie was simply an intellectual means of avoiding a difficulty."

Queen
Elizabeth,
1558-1603

She was often vacillating in policy; but she was a keen judge of men, and had the good sense to keep about her a group of wise and patriotic counselors. Above all, she had a deep love for her country. After more than forty years of rule, she said proudly, and, on the whole, truly, — "I do call God to witness, never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my subjects' good."

And England repaid her love with a passionate and romantic devotion to its "Virgin Queen." Except for her counselors, men knew little of Elizabeth's deceit and vulgarity and weaknesses. They saw only that her long reign had piloted England safely through a maze of foreign perils, and had built up its power and dignity abroad and its unity and prosperity at home, while her court was made glorious by splendid bands of statesmen, warriors, and poets. Except for the "Oxford Reformers" (p. 323), England had lagged behind in the early Renaissance, but now the *Elizabethan Renaissance* gave that land a first place in the movement. *Edmund Spenser* created a new form of English poetry in his *Faerie Queene*. And the splendor of the Elizabethan age found a climax in English drama, with *Shakespeare* as the most resplendent star in a glorious galaxy that

The
Elizabethan
Renaissance

counted such other shining names as *Marlowe*, *Greene*, *Beaumont*, *Fletcher*, and *Ben Jonson*. Not less splendid, possibly even more important, was the scientific progress of *Harvey* and



SHAKSPERE'S THEATER, *The Globe*. — This structure was built in 1599, and was burned in 1613 from a fire caused by discharge of "cannon" in a presentation of the play of *Henry VIII*.

Francis Bacon (p. 358). Amid the petty squabbles of succeeding reigns, England looked back with longing to "the spacious days of great Elizabeth."

The "Eliza-
bethan
Settlement"

When Elizabeth came to the throne, at least two thirds of England was still Catholic in doctrine. Elizabeth herself had no liking for Protestantism, while she did like the pomp and ceremonial of the old church. She wanted neither the system of her sister nor that of her brother, but would have preferred to go back to that of her father. But the extreme Catholic party did not recognize her mother's marriage as valid, and so denied Elizabeth's claim to the throne. This forced her to throw herself into the hands of the Protestants. She gave all chief offices in church and state to that active, intelligent, well-organized minority; and the "Elizabethan Settlement" established the English Episcopal church much as it still stands. At about the

same time, *John Knox* brought Calvinism from Geneva to Scotland, and organized the *Scotch Presbyterian church*.

Early in Elizabeth's reign, an "Act of Uniformity" had ordered all people to attend the Protestant worship, under threat of extreme penalties; but for many years this act was

**The Act of
Uniformity**



QUEEN ELIZABETH AT TILBURY. — exhorting the land forces gathered there to resist a Spanish landing. The rallying of the Catholic gentry to this gathering, with their retainers, insured England's safety, even if the Armada had not been destroyed at sea.

not enforced strictly. After Catholic plots against her throne began, however, Elizabeth adopted strong measures. Many leading Catholics were fined and imprisoned for refusing to attend the English church. And, under a new law, Catholic priests, and others who made converts from Protestantism to Catholicism, were declared guilty of *treason*. Many martyrs suffered torture on the rack and death on the scaffold — nearly as many as had died in the persecution of "Bloody Mary";

**Persecution
of Catholic
"traitors"**

but Elizabeth, like her brother, succeeded in making such executions *appear* punishment of *traitors*.

The
Spanish
Armada,
1588

England was constantly threatened by the two great powers of Europe, Catholic France and Spain. Neither, however, was willing to see the other gain England; and by skillfully playing off one against the other, Elizabeth kept peace for many years and gained time for England to grow strong. Gradually it became more and more clear that the real foe was Spain. Then Elizabeth secretly gave aid to the Dutch, who were in rebellion against Philip II of Spain (p. 348); and finally Philip launched his "Invincible Armada" for the conquest of England (1588). English ships of all sorts — mostly little merchant vessels hastily transformed into a war navy — gathered in the Channel; and, to the amazement of the world, the small but swift and better handled English vessels completely outfought the great Spanish navy in a splendid nine days' sea fight. Spain never recovered her supremacy on the sea, — *and the way was prepared for the English colonization of America.*

England
becomes
Protestant

To the chagrin of Spanish king and Roman pope, the mass of English Catholics had proved more English than papal, and had rallied gallantly to the Queen; and, for young Englishmen, *the splendid struggle made Protestantism and patriotism seem much the same thing.* The rising generation became largely Protestant; and before Elizabeth's death, even the Puritan doctrines from Geneva and from Presbyterian Scotland had begun to spread widely among the people.

Ireland, the third part of the British Isles, remained Catholic. Henry II (p. 285) had tried to conquer Ireland; but, until the time of the Tudors, the English really held only a little strip of land ("the English Pale") near Dublin. The rest of Ireland remained in the hands of native chieftains; but constant war rooted out the old beginnings of Irish culture.

Ireland
remains
Catholic

Henry VIII established English authority over most of the island and destroyed the monasteries, the chief remaining centers of industry and learning. Shortly before the Armada, Spain made attempts to use the island as a base from which

to attack England. Alarmed to frenzy by this deadly peril at their back door, Elizabeth's generals then completed the military subjugation with atrocious cruelties. Tens of thousands of men, women, and children were killed, or perished of famine in the Irish bogs; and great districts of the country were given to English nobles and gentry. Incessant feuds continued between the peasantry and these absentee landlords, and the Irish nation looked on the attempt to introduce the Church of England as a part of the hated English tyranny. As English patriotism became identified with Protestantism, so, even more completely, Irish patriotism became identified with Catholicism.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Green's *History of the English People* is the best general account.

CHAPTER XXXVII

A CENTURY OF RELIGIOUS WARS

Philip II
of Spain

When Philip II succeeded his father (p. 334) as king of Spain and of the Sicilies, and master of the Netherlands, he was *the most powerful and most absolute monarch in Europe*. The Spanish infantry were the finest soldiery in the world. The Spanish navy was the unquestioned mistress of the ocean. Each year the great "gold fleet" filled Philip's coffers from the exhaustless wealth of the Americas. In 1580 the ruling family in Portugal died out, and that throne (with Portugal's East India empire) was seized by Philip.¹ The Spanish boast that the sun never set upon Spanish dominions became literal fact.

The Dutch
Rebellion

Philip himself was a plodding, cautious toiler — despotic, cruel, unscrupulous. Charles V had disregarded the old liberties of the Netherlands and had set up the Inquisition in that country with frightful consequences. Philip continued his father's abuses, without possessing any of his redeeming qualities in Dutch eyes. He was a foreign master — not a Hollander by birth as Charles had been — and he ruled from a distance and through Spanish officers. Finally, Protestant and Catholic nobles joined in demands for reform and especially that they might be ruled by officers from their own people. Philip's reply was to send the stern Spanish general, *Alva*, with a veteran army, to enforce submission. *Alva's Council of Blood* declared almost the whole population guilty of rebellion, and deserving of death with confiscation of goods. This atrocious sentence was enforced by butchery of great numbers — especially of the wealthy classes — and in 1568 a revolt began.

Alva's
Council of
Blood

The struggle between the little disunited provinces and the huge world-empire lasted forty years. In the beginning the conflict

¹ Portugal reëstablished her independence, by revolt, in 1640.

was for political liberty, but it soon became also a religious struggle. It was waged with an exasperated and relentless fury that made it a byword for ferocity even in that brutal age. City after city was given up to indiscriminate rapine and massacre, with deeds of horror indescribable. Over against this dark



FRANCIS DRAKE KNIGHTED BY QUEEN ELIZABETH on the deck of his ship, the *Golden Hind*, at his return from raiding Spanish America in his voyage round the globe (1581). — From a contemporary drawing by Sir John Gilbert. Expeditions of this kind were one way in which Englishmen showed their sympathy for Holland while England was still nominally neutral. Of course they had much to do with provoking Spain to the attack by the Armada.

side stands the stubborn heroism of the Dutch people, who saved not themselves only, but also the cause of Protestantism and of political liberty for the world. William of Orange

William, Prince of Orange, was the central hero of the conflict. Because he foiled his enemies so often by wisely keeping his plans to himself, he is known as *William the Silent*; and his persistency and statesmanship have fitly earned him the name "the Dutch Washington." Again and again, he seemed to be crushed; but from each defeat he snatched a new chance for victory.

**The Relief
of Leyden,
1574**

The turning point of the war was the relief of Leyden. For many months the city had been closely besieged. The people had devoured the cats and rats and were dying grimly of starvation. Once they murmured, but the heroic burgomaster (mayor) shamed them, declaring they might have his body to eat, but while he lived they should never surrender to the Spanish butchers. All attempts to relieve the perishing town had failed. But fifteen miles away, on the North Sea, rode a Dutch fleet with supplies. Then William the Silent cut the dikes and let in the ocean on the land. Over wide districts the prosperity of years was engulfed in ruin; but the waves swept also over the Spanish camp, and upon the invading sea the relieving ships rode to the city gates. Dutch liberty was saved.

**England
aids Holland**

Holland had been fighting England's battle as well as her own: only the Dutch war had kept Philip from attacking England. Englishmen knew this; and, for years, hundreds of English volunteers had been flocking to join the Dutch army. Elizabeth herself had many times helped the Dutch by secret supplies of money, and now in 1585 she sent a small English army to their aid. This was the immediate signal for the Spanish Armada; and the overthrow of Spain's naval supremacy by the splendid English sea dogs (p. 346) added tremendously to Holland's chances. True, the ten southern provinces of the old Netherlands finally gave up the struggle, and returned to Spanish allegiance. (They were largely French in race and Catholic in religion. Protestantism was now completely stamped out in them. After this time, they are known as the Spanish Netherlands, and finally as modern Belgium.) But the seven northern provinces — Dutch in blood and Protestant in religion — maintained the conflict, and won their independence as The United Provinces, or the Dutch Republic.¹

**Dutch Inde-
pendence**

**Holland's
splendid
period**

The most marvelous feature of the struggle between the little Dutch state and Spain was that Holland grew wealthy during the contest, although the stage of the desolating war. The

¹ The government consisted of a representative "States General" and a "Stadtholder" (President). The most important of the seven provinces was Holland, by whose name the union was often known.

THE NETHERLANDS

at the Truce of 1609



Dutch drew their riches not from the wasted land, but from the sea ; and during the war they plundered the possessions of Spain in the East Indies. The little republic built up a vast colonial empire ; and, especially after Spain's naval supremacy had been engulfed with the Armada, the Dutch held almost a monopoly



DUTCH WINDMILLS (near Molen). — In the sixteenth century, as now, such windmills in great numbers were used to pump surplus water out of the canals back into the ocean. They are a characteristic feature of that country "where the hulls of ships at anchor on the sea are higher than the steeples of the churches."

of the Asiatic trade for all Europe. One hundred thousand of their three million people lived constantly upon the sea. Success in so heroic a war stimulated the people to a wonderful activity. Holland taught all Europe scientific agriculture and horticulture, as well as the science of navigation, and in the seventeenth century her presses put forth more books than all the rest of Europe.

On the other hand, Spain sank rapidly into a second-rate power. The bigot, Philip III, drove into exile the Christianized Moors, the descendants of those Mohammedans left behind when the Moorish *political* power had been driven out. They

Spain's
decay

numbered perhaps a twentieth of the entire population, — and they were the foremost agriculturists and almost the sole skilled artisans and manufacturers. Their pitiless expulsion inflicted a deadly blow upon the prosperity of Spain. For a time the wealth she drew from America concealed her fall. But after the Armada she never played a great part in Europe, and, *living on the plunder of the New World*, she failed to develop the industrial life which alone could furnish a true prosperity. Moreover, the Inquisition steadily “sifted out the most flexible minds and the stoutest hearts,” until a once virile race sank into apathy and decay.

Religious
war in
France,
1562-1598

Another religious struggle (1562-1598) long desolated France — between the Huguenots (the French Calvinists) and their persecutors. This strife was complicated by personal rivalries between groups of great lords, and, even worse than the other wars of the period, it was marked by assassinations and treacheries — the most horrible of which was the famous *Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day* (August 24, 1572) in which 10,000 Huguenots perished.

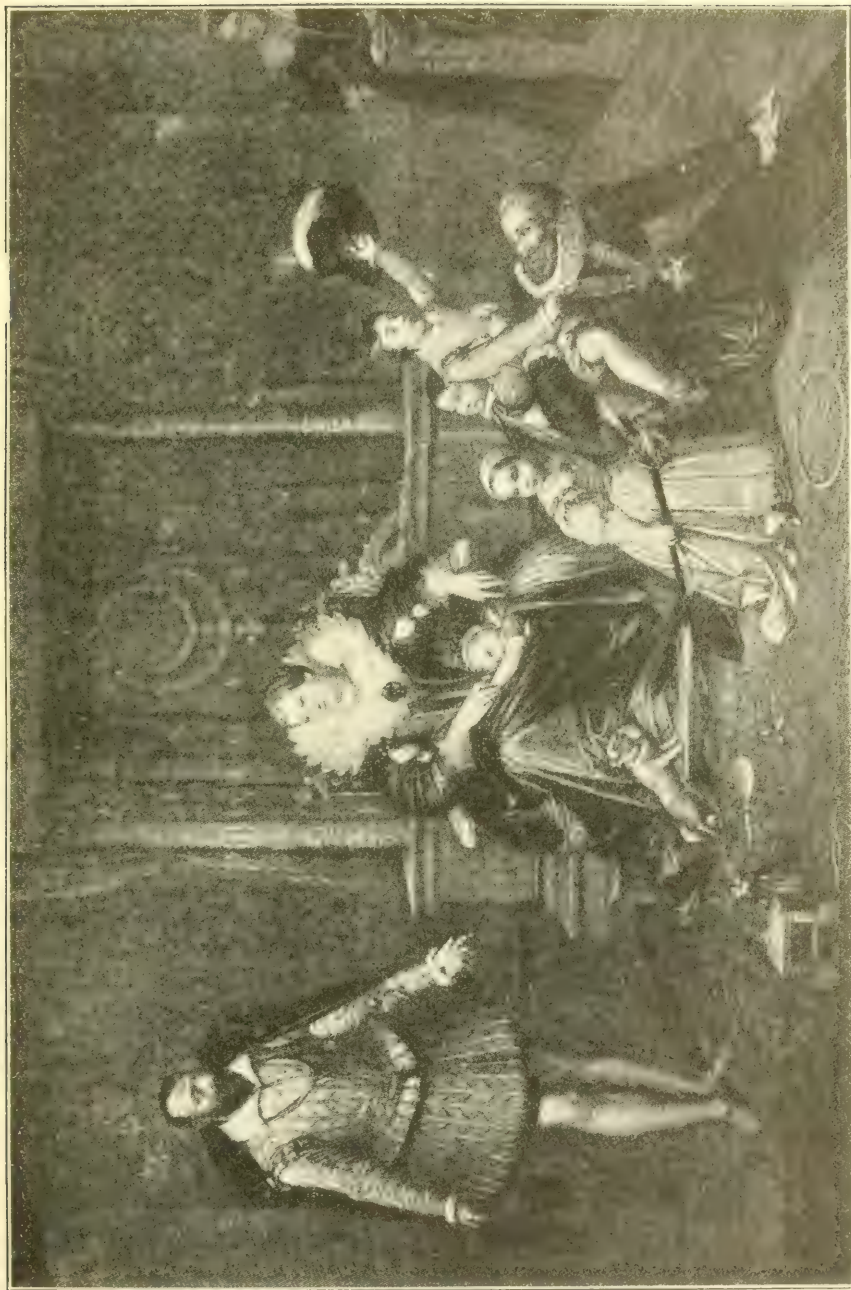
Henry IV

Their leader, however, young Henry of Navarre, escaped, and, on the death of the childless French king in 1589, he became heir to the throne. Philip of Spain, to prevent his accession, gave aid to the Catholic lords; but now Philip met the third of the great leaders on whom his schemes went to wreck. Henry drove the Spanish army in shameful rout from France in the dashing cavalry battle of *Ivry*. Then, to secure Paris, which he had long besieged (and to give peace to his distracted country), he accepted Catholicism, declaring lightly that “so fair a city” was “well worth a mass.”

Edict of
Nantes

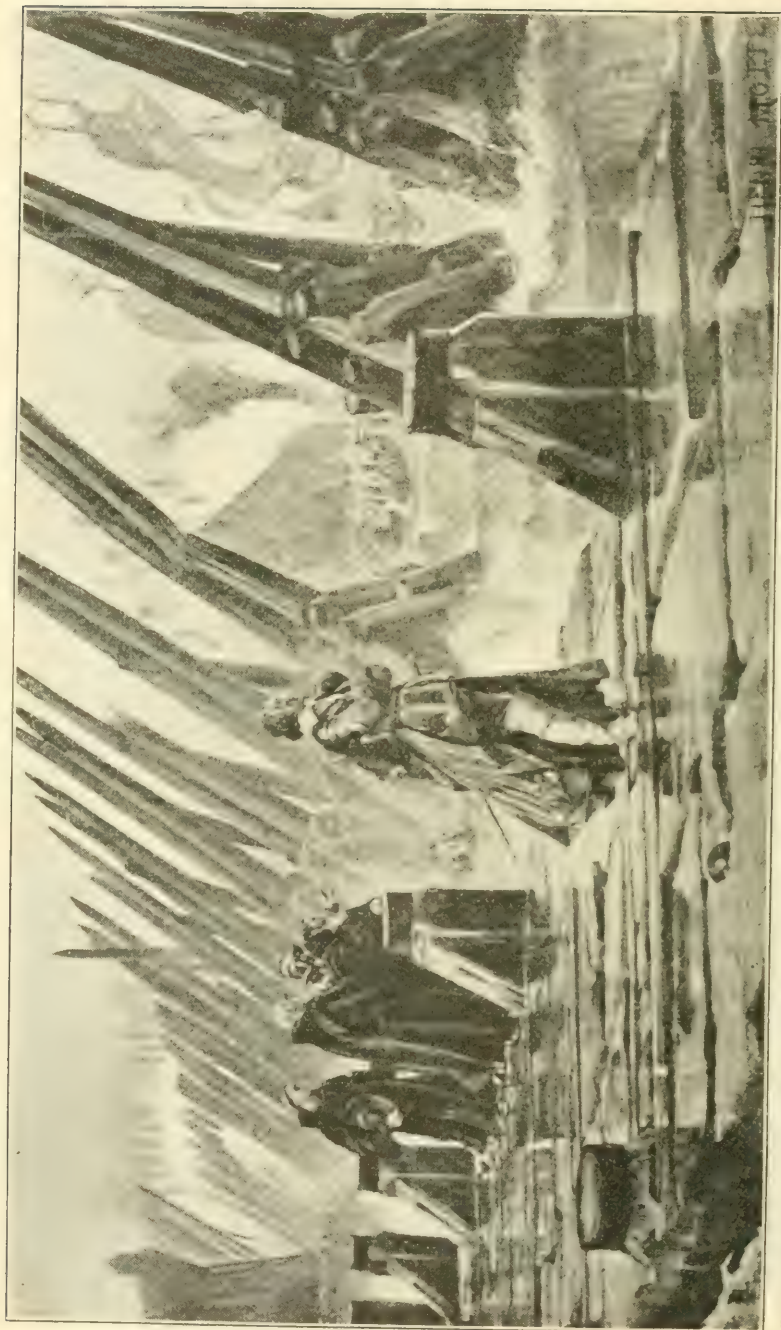
In 1598 Henry's Edict of Nantes established toleration for the Huguenots. (1) They were granted full equality before the law. (Before this, the forms of oaths required in law courts had been such as a Protestant could not take, and therefore a Huguenot could not sue to recover property.) (2) They were to have perfect liberty of conscience *in private*, and to enjoy the privilege of *public* worship except in the cathedral cities. And (3) certain

PLATE LIX



HENRY IV, — visited unexpectedly by the stately Spanish ambassador. "Is your business pressing?" asked the king. "No; well, then, we will first finish our game." A modern painting by Jean Ingres.

PLATE LX



RICHELIEU ON THE MOLE AT LA ROCHELLE. — Rochelle was a Huguenot seaport, and it held out through a desperate eight months' siege. Richelieu captured it only after shutting it off from the sea by an immense dike, or mole. This painting, by Henri Motte, shows Richelieu in military garb at a critical moment in an attack upon this structure by Huguenot ships.

towns were handed over to them, to hold with their own garrisons, as security for their rights.

Henry IV proved one of the greatest of French kings, and he was one of the most loved. With his sagacious minister, the *Duke of Sully*, he set himself to restore prosperity to desolated France. Roads and canals were built; new trades were fostered; and the industry of the French people once more with marvelous rapidity removed the evil results of the long strife.

Henry and
Sully

Henry's son, Louis XIII, came to the throne in 1610 as a boy of nine. Anarchy again raised its head; but France was saved by the commanding genius of *Cardinal Richelieu*, the chief minister of the young king. Richelieu was a sincere patriot, and, though an earnest Catholic, his statesmanship was guided by political, not by religious, motives. He crushed the great nobles and he waged war upon the Huguenots to deprive them of their garrisoned towns, which menaced the unity of France. But when he had captured their cities and held the Huguenots at his mercy, he kept toward them in full the other pledges of the Edict of Nantes. At the same time, he aided the German Protestants against the Catholic emperor, in the religious war that was going on in Germany, and so secured a chance to seize territory from the Empire for France.

Cardinal
Richelieu

The period of the religious wars in the Netherlands and France had been a period of uneasy peace in Germany; but now came in that land the last of the great religious wars — just a hundred years after Luther posted his theses at Wittenberg.

The Thirty
Years' War
in Germany

This *Thirty Years' War* (1618–1648) arose directly out of an attempt of Protestant Bohemia to make itself independent of the Catholic Hapsburg Empire. Bohemian independence lasted only a few weeks; but this was long enough to call all Germany into two armed camps. The Protestant German princes, however, showed themselves disunited and timid; and, had the war been left to Germany, a Catholic victory would soon have been assured. But *all over Europe sincere and religious Protestants felt deeply and truly that the war against the Catholic Hapsburgs was their own war* — much as all free peoples felt

in the World War when liberty was imperiled by Hohenzollern autocracy. First Denmark (1625-1629) and then Sweden (1630) entered the field in behalf of the Protestant cause; and at last (1635-1648), for more selfish reasons, Catholic France under Richelieu threw its weight also against the Hapsburgs who so long had ringed France about with hostile arms.

Wallenstein
and
Gustavus
Adolphus

The war was marked by the careers of four great generals, — Tilly and Wallenstein on the imperial side, and Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, "the Lion of the North," and Mansfeld, on the side of the Protestants. Gustavus was at once great and admirable; but he fell at the battle of Lützen (1632) in the moment of victory; and thereafter the struggle was as dreary as it was terrible. Mansfeld and Wallenstein from the first deliberately adopted the policy of *making the war pay, by supporting their armies everywhere upon the country*; but during the short career of Gustavus, his blond Swede giants were held in admirable discipline, with the nearest approach to a regular commissariat that had been known since Roman times. (Gustavus' success, too, was due largely to new tactics. Muskets, fired by a "match" and discharged from a "rest," had become an important portion of every army; but troops were still massed in the old fashion that had prevailed when pikemen were the chief infantry. Gustavus was the first general to adapt the arrangement of his troops to the new weapons.)

Devastation
of Germany

The calamities the war brought were monstrous. Season by season, for a generation, armies of ruthless freebooters harried the land. The peasant found that he toiled only to feed robbers and to draw them to outrage and torture his family; so he ceased to labor, and became himself robber or camp-follower. *Half the population and two thirds the movable property of Germany were swept away.* In many large districts, the facts were worse than this average. In Bohemia, thirty thousand happy villages had shrunk to six thousand miserable ones, and the rich promise of the great University of Prague was ruined. Everywhere populous cities shriveled into hamlets; and for miles upon miles, former hamlets were the lairs of wolf packs.

PLATE LXI



THE DEATH OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS AT LUTZEN. — A painting by Ludwig Braum. In the moment of victory King Gustavus charged forward too far, and was surrounded by a group of the enemy's horse.

Not until 1850 did some sections of Germany again contain as many homesteads and cattle as in 1618.

Peace of
Westphalia

The war was closed by the Peace of Westphalia, — drawn up by a congress of ambassadors from nearly every European power. This treaty contained three distinct classes of stipulations: provisions for religious peace in Germany; territorial rewards for France and Sweden; and provisions to secure the independence of the German princes against the Empire.

1. *The principle of the Peace of Augsburg was reaffirmed and extended.* Each sovereign prince in Germany was to choose his religion; and his subjects were to have three years to conform to his choice or to withdraw from his realm.¹

2. *Sweden, which was already a great Baltic power, extending around both the east and west shores of that sea (p. 266), secured also much of the south coast* (with control over German commerce): Pomerania — with the mouths of the Oder, Elbe, and Weser — was the payment she received for her part in the war. *France annexed most of Alsace, with some fortresses on the German bank of the Rhine.* (The Congress also expressly recognized *the independence of Switzerland and of the Dutch Provinces.*)

3. The Empire lost more than mere territory. The separate states were given the right to form alliances with one another *or even with foreign powers*. The imperial Diet became *arousedly* a gathering of ambassadors for discussion, not for government: no state was to be bound by decisions there without its own consent.

The religious wars filled a century — from the struggle between the German princes and Charles V (1546) to the Peace of Westphalia (1648). *They left the Romance* ² *South of Europe Catholic, and the Teutonic North Protestant.* France emerged, more united than ever, quite equal in power to any two states of

Conditions
at the close
of the re-
ligious wars

¹ Many of the South German Protestants were then driven into exile by their Catholic lords. This was the first cause of the coming to America of the "Pennsylvania Dutch."

² *Romance* is a term applied to those European peoples and languages closely related to the old Roman rule — like the Italians, Spanish, and French.

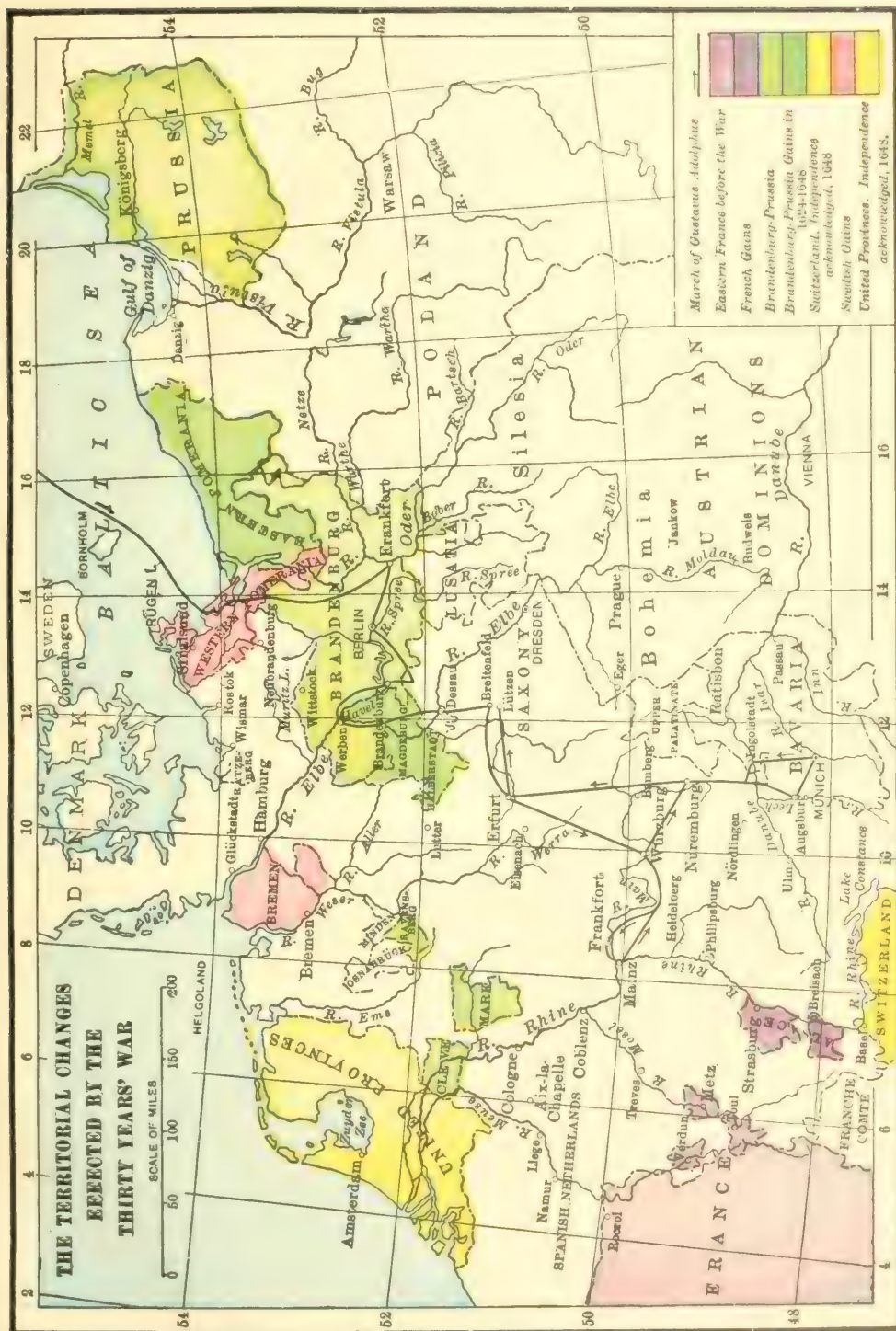
Europe. England and Sweden had both risen into "Great Powers." Two new federal republics had been added to the European family of nations, — Switzerland and the United Provinces; and the second of these was one of the leading "Powers." The danger of a universal Hapsburg empire was forever gone. Spain, the property of one Hapsburg branch, had sunk to a third-rate power; the Holy Roman Empire, the realm of the other branch, was an open sham. Far to the east loomed indistinctly a huge and growing Russian state.

EXERCISE. — Dates to be added to the list for drill, — 1520, 1588, 1648.

FOR FURTHER READING. — *The Student's Motley* is an admirable and brief condensation of the American Motley's great history of the Dutch Republic. Willert's *Henry of Navarre* is a brilliant story.

THE TERRITORIAL CHANGES EFFECTED BY THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200



PART IX — FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1648-1789

CHAPTER XXXVIII

SCIENCE AND TRADE

The hundred years of ruinous religious wars and bloody persecution, almost without notice at the time, was also an age of splendid advance in science and in trade, — changes either of which was to modify the life of men and women in the future more than the wars of Wallenstein and Gustavus.

I. SCIENTIFIC ADVANCE

The true astronomy of Aristarchus (p. 146) had long been lost, and all through the Middle Ages men believed the earth the center of the universe with sun and stars revolving around it. But in 1543 a Polish astronomer, Copernicus, published a book proving that the earth was only one member of a solar system which had the sun for a center.

Copernicus
and the so-
lar system

From fear of persecution, Copernicus had kept his discovery to himself for many years — until just before his death, when the “religious wars” were just beginning. Those wars themselves checked study and discovery in parts of Europe; and persecution, for a while, repressed scientific discoveries in Catholic countries. At the opening of the Renaissance (p. 315) the popes had been the foremost patrons of the new learning; but now the reaction against the Protestant revolt had thrown control into conservative hands, and the church used its tremendous powers to stifle new scientific discoveries.

Still much was done. In Elizabeth’s day in England, the physician, William Harvey, discovered the truth about the

Harvey and
the circula-
tion of the
blood

circulation of the blood,¹ and so made possible modern medicine. And in Italy Galileo discovered the laws of falling bodies and of the pendulum (as they are now taught in our text-books on physics), invented the thermometer, and, taking a hint from a Dutch plaything, constructed the first real telescope. With this, in 1610, he *demonstrated* the truth of Copernicus' teachings by showing the "phases" of the planet Venus in its revolution about the sun. True, Galileo was summoned to Rome by the pope, imprisoned, and forced publicly to recant his teaching that the earth moved around the sun; but, as he rose from his knees, he whispered to a friend — "None the less, it does move."

Galileo

The
method of
experiment

And more important than any specific discovery about sun or the human body was the discovery of *a new way of finding out truth* about the world. For centuries scholars had tried to learn only by reading ancient *authorities*, and perhaps by *reasoning* a little further, in their own minds, upon what these authorities taught. But the new discoveries had been made in another way; and now, Francis Bacon, in England, set forth eloquently the necessity of *experiment* to discover new facts. And before 1700, in Italy, France, and England, great *scientific societies* were founded, to encourage scientific investigation.

II. "BUSINESS" BECOMES A FORCE IN LIFE

The second great change that marked this otherwise dismal century was the growing influence in human life of what we call *business*. "Business" had been almost unknown and wholly without influence during the early Middle Ages, and during the later centuries of that period it had existed upon a small scale only. How the barbarian invasions and the violence of the "Dark Ages" destroyed the old Roman town life in Western Europe has been briefly told, and also how after the Crusades a new trade began to build towns anew. But for some centuries,

¹ For centuries men had believed that the bright blood of the arteries and the dark blood of the veins were two *distinct* systems (one from the heart, the other from the liver). Harvey proved that this was all one system and that the dark blood was purified in the lungs.



RHEINSTEIN, A MEDIEVAL CASTLE ON THE RHINE.

by our standards, these new towns were few and small, even in proportion to the small population of Europe in that day.

During the Middle Ages there were five special hindrances to trade.

1. The first was the continued violence of the feudal baron, who long looked upon the trader as an escaped serf and therefore as his natural prey. In England, noble and townsman were far less hostile than on the continent; but an event in England, as late as the time of Edward I (1300), shows this class war even there. The town of Boston was holding a great fair.¹ Citizens, of course, guarded its gates zealously against any hostile intruders, but an armed band of country gentlemen (of the "noble" class) got through in the disguise of play actors. When darkness fell, they began their horrible work of murder and plunder. They fired every booth, slaughtered the merchants, and hurried the booty to ships ready at the quay. The horror-stricken people of other towns told how streams of molten gold mingled with rivers of blood in the gutters.

Hindrances
to "business" in
the Middle
Ages:
feudal
violence

True, King Edward, under whose license the fair had been promised protection, proved strong enough to hang the leaders of these "gentlemen." But in Germany, at the same period, like events followed one another in horrible panorama. The towns shut out the "noble knights" by walls and guards. But from their castle crags the knights swooped down upon unwary townsmen who ventured too near, and even upon armed caravans of traders, to rob and murder, or to carry off for ransom. Such unhappy captives were loaded with rusty chains that ate into the flesh, and were left in damp and filthy dungeons — so that to "rot a peasant" became a by-word.²

¹ Large cities, at fixed times, held great fairs, lasting many days, for all the small places in the neighboring regions, — since the villages and small towns had either no shops or small ones with few goods. Merchants from all the kingdom — and, indeed, sometimes from all Europe, — journeyed to such fairs with their goods, to reap a harvest from the country folk who crowded about their booths. The town took toll for these booths, and usually itself paid king or noble a license fee for security.

² At sea the trader's perils were even greater. There were as yet no light-houses and no charts to mark dangerous reefs, and the waters swarmed with pirates, led often by some neighboring noble.

Tolls

2. Gradually, the robber barons learned that it did not *pay* to kill the goose that laid golden eggs, and the land pirates softened their methods. The new monarchies, too, put an end to feudal violence. But the trader, though no longer likely to be robbed of all his goods at one time, was still compelled to surrender parts of them repeatedly in *tolls* at every bridge or



RUINS OF A RHINE CASTLE, above a modern town.

ferry or ford, at the gate of every town, at the foot of every castle hill by which the rough pack-horse trail wound its way. The *collection* of such tolls, too, was marked often by all sorts of vexatious delays and by intentional injury to the remaining goods, unless the helpless trader bribed the official who did the work with added goods or coin for his private use. (Such tolls grew up by custom, imposed by *local* authorities. They had no sanction from any central or national government; but neither did the governments materially interfere to abolish them until toward 1700. In England this evil never reached such serious proportions as on the continent.)

Lack of
money

3. And when the patient trader had carried his diminished wares past all these perils to people who wished to buy, too

often the would-be customers had no money. Wealth they had, perhaps, in land or in goods, but not in any portable form that the trader could afford to take in pay. This lack of money was for centuries (pp. 235, 272) a serious hindrance. In Europe the ancient mines of gold and silver were exhausted, and there was no supply of precious metals from which to coin enough money for the demands of trade.

4. A large part of what little money there was remained in hiding, buried perhaps in the earth for safe keeping. The man who had coin, but who did not need to use it himself, had no inducement, as now, to lend it to some one who did want to use it. *Interest ("usury") was unlawful.* The whole Christian world believed that God forbade man to take pay for the use of money. Therefore the Jews (outside this Christian faith) were the only money-lenders of the Middle Ages until almost the close; and they, robbed at every turn themselves by king and baron, loaned only at ruinous rates rising usually to about fifty per cent a year.¹

Idle money,
"usury"

To be sure, in the thirteenth century Italian money-lenders (*Lombards*) began in a small degree to supply the place of modern bank loans by a quaint evasion of the belief about usury. They established moneyed colonies in the chief towns of Europe,² and loaned money on good security without interest for a short time (a week or a month, perhaps); but, when not repaid on time, they then exacted a heavy penalty, previously agreed upon, *for each month's delay.* The Christian world found it convenient to accept this subterfuge, but it was still some centuries before the old beliefs and laws against usury were *openly* abandoned.

¹ The Christian world in the most un-Christian spirit despised and persecuted the whole Jewish race on the ground that some of their distant ancestors had persecuted Jesus. In every Western European land, a Jew was compelled by law to wear a special cap or other clothing to mark his race, and to live in a special quarter of the towns in which he was permitted to live at all (the Ghetto). He was forbidden to own land or to enter any trade guild; and so was forced to live by lending money — which increased the popular hatred and led to many massacres in England and France like those which the Jews have had to suffer in recent years in Russia and Poland.

² "Lombard Street" in London has remained a great money center.

Crude
banking
methods

In some other respects, too, the Lombards revived for Western Europe the elementary banking system of the old Roman Empire (see *Ancient World*), which had never died entirely in Italy and the Greek Empire. A merchant in Boulogne might come to owe a London merchant a large sum. To carry the coin from one city to another for each transaction grew more and more impossible as business grew. But now the Boulogne merchant merely paid the amount into the Lombard "bank" in his city (plus some "premium" for the bank's service) and received a written "order" for the money on a London Lombard house. This written "bill of exchange" would then be sent to the London creditor, who could get his money on presenting it at his London "bank." The London bank would have frequent occasion, in like fashion, to sell drafts upon the Boulogne bank. Then at some convenient time the two banking houses would settle their *balance* in coin; but the amount to be carried from one to the other would be small, compared to the total amount of business it represented. This practice was a tremendous help to business — far short as it fell of our complicated "credit" systems by which we make one dollar do the work of many dollars.

Gild
restrictions

5. And finally the gild rules absolutely prevented what we call "wholesale" business in most towns. Those rules (for a "just price" and to prevent monopoly) had been highly beneficial when they were adopted, but now they were hindrances to the new methods called for by the conditions of the new day.

A summary
of the
growth of
trade to
1500 A.D.

In spite of all such obstacles trade had grown slowly from the Crusades to Columbus. Even in the Dark Ages, Venice and Genoa and a few other Italian cities had kept some of their ancient trade with the Orient — by fleets of ships that met the Arabian caravans on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean; and after the Crusades this trade spread west from Italy down the Rhine through Germany and France and the Netherlands, and thence across the Channel to England, and, through the Hansa merchants, even to the Baltic lands. This trade, too, had made life over in Western Europe, not merely by bringing in new

luxuries and comforts, but much more by stirring men up to *new activities* and by awakening *new energies*. The isolation of the old manor and village life vanished, and its dull apathy went with it. To satisfy desires for the new foreign products, the people of the village must themselves produce more than before, and usually something different from before, in order to have wherewith to buy. So new manufactures were built up; and soon, in many places, the men of the West began to manufacture for themselves the coveted glassware and silks and velvets and fine linens which at first had come only through rare traders. Thus, for the more energetic and stronger of the town people, *life became more hopeful and more strenuous*, as well as vastly more comfortable.

Most of these commodities, however, were still supplied by trade with the East; and some things, like sugar, drugs, and spices, could be secured in no other way. How the old routes for this trade were closed one by one in the fifteenth century, and how the demand for new trade routes played a part in the raising of the curtain upon new worlds, east and west, has been told. And then indeed, after 1500, and especially after 1600, did trade come into its kingdom. The new monarchies (p. 319) stamped out feudal plunder and soon checked feudal tolls; the growing banking system furnished credits and security; and now the rich mines of Mexico and Peru poured a steady stream of gold and silver into Spain, whence the needed coin filtered into other parts of Europe to fertilize trade. The merchants,¹ each with his retinue of adventurous and loyal ship-captains at sea and of skilled and trusted clerks on land, rose suddenly into a new estate — as distinct from the ordinary burgher as the burgher three centuries before had seemed from the villein. In 1350, a royal inquiry listed only 169 merchants in England. In 1600, twenty times that number were occupied with the Holland trade alone, while large stock-companies of other merchants were trading with Russia, India, and North America. France, Holland, England, Sweden, Denmark, each had its "East India Company," and most of these countries had trading companies

Trade needs
help in the
discovery of
new worlds

Business
"in the
saddle"

¹ A *merchant* was a trader with a foreign country.

chartered by the kings for trade with other distant parts of the earth. Single merchants, too, sometimes owned large fleets for such trade, like Shakspeare's Antonio in *The Merchant of Venice*.

Except for land, this class had more wealth by far than the nobles themselves, and lived with greater comfort. The kings, too, found the merchants a convenient source of revenue, and were inclined to favor them against the less profitable though socially superior nobles. Rising merchant class and decaying noble class hated and feared each other. Indeed, the merchants, alive to new ideas, made the strength of the Reformation everywhere outside of Germany; and the cruelty of the Spanish nobles toward the Dutch Protestants, and of French nobles toward the Huguenots, was due in part to their detestation for these ambitious rivals.

A great social change, like the rise of this new business society, is likely to be accompanied, for a time at least, by a sad depression of some other class. This social fact is illustrated by the story of *English industry*, in this age.

The change
in English
rural
industry

The golden age for English peasants was the half century from 1450 to 1500, just after the disappearance of villeinage: The small farmer lived in rude abundance; and even the farm laborer had his cow, sheep, or geese on the common, his four-acre patch of garden about his cabin, and good wages for his labor on the landlord's fields. Sir John Fortescue (p. 310) boasts of this prosperity, as compared with that of the French peasantry: "They [English peasants] drink no water, unless at times by way of penance. They are fed in great abundance with all kinds of flesh and fish. They are clothed in good woolens. . . . Every one, according to his rank, hath all things needful to make life easy and happy."

The "inclosures" after
1500 A.D.

The large landlords had been relatively less prosperous. Since the rise of their old laborers out of villeinage, they were "land-poor." They paid high wages, while under the wasteful common-field system, crops were small. But by 1500 a change began which enriched the landlords and cruelly depressed the

peasants. This change was the process of "inclosures" for sheep-raising. There was a steady demand for wool at good prices to supply the Flemish markets, and enterprising landlords began to raise sheep instead of grain. Large flocks could be cared for by a few hands, so that the high wages mattered less; and profits proved so enticing that soon there was a mad rush into the new industry.

But sheep-raising called for large tracts of land. It was possible only for the great landlords; and even these were obliged to hedge in their share of the common "fields." Therefore, as far as possible, they turned out small tenants whose holdings interfered with such "inclosures," and often they inclosed also the woodlands and meadows, in disregard of ancient rights of common pasture. Sir Thomas More, in his *Utopia*, lamented these conditions bitterly:

"A careless and unsatiable cormorant may compass about and inclose many thousand acres within one pale, and the husbandmen be thrust out of their own; *or else by fraud, or violent oppression, or by wrongs and injuries, they be so worried that they be compelled to sell.* . . . They [the landlords] throw down houses; they pluck down towns [villages], and leave nothing standing but only the church, to be made a sheep-house."

Other statesmen, too, bewailed that sheep should take the place of the yeomanry who had won Crécy, and who, Bacon said, were also "the backbone of the revenue"; and the government made many attempts to check inclosures. But law availed nothing; nor did peasant risings and riots help. Inclosures went on until the profits of sheep-raising and grain-raising found a natural level.

This came to pass before 1600. The wool market was supplied; the growth of town populations raised the price of grain; and the land changes created a wealthy landed gentry, to take a glittering part in society and politics. But this new "prosperity" had a somber background. Half of the villages in England had lost heavily in population, and many had been wholly swept away. Great numbers of the peasants, driven from their homes, became "sturdy beggars" (tramps); *and all laborers were*

Passing of
the free
farmers

thrust down to a lower standard of life, because the cost of food and clothing rose twice as fast as wages. Indeed, the gentleman "justices of the peace," *appointed* by the crown, were given power to fix wages for farm work. And when tramps spread terror through the rural districts, the justices hanged them in batches. In fifty years, in the glorious day of Shakspeare and Elizabeth, seventy thousand "beggars" were executed.

**Growth of
manufac-
tures**

Meantime, England was becoming a manufacturing country. From the time of the Yorkist kings, the sovereigns had made the towns their special care. Elizabeth welcomed gladly the skilled workmen driven from the Netherlands by the Spanish wars, and from France by the persecution of the Huguenots. Colonies of these foreign artisans were given their special quarter in many an English city, with many favors, and were encouraged to set up there their manufactures, of which England had previously known almost nothing. Soon, English wool was no longer sold abroad. It was worked up at home. These new manufactures gave employment to great numbers of workmen, and finally absorbed the classes driven from the land.

**And of
commerce**

And in turn, this manufacturing fostered commerce. By 1600, England was sending, not merely raw materials as formerly, but her finished products, to distant markets. And then, by purchase of land and by royal gifts from the confiscated church property, the members of the new merchant class rose into the new gentry, and their capital and energy helped to restore prosperity to the land.

**End of the
gild system
in England**

At the same time the rapid growth of manufactures worked a favorable change in the life of the workers. The gild system, with its vexing rules, broke down in England (though retained much longer on the continent), and was replaced by the so-called "domestic system." Manufacturing was still carried on by hand, and mainly in the master's house; but the masters secured freedom from gild control and rapidly introduced improved methods. Nearly two centuries later in Paris a hatter won great popularity by making better hats than his competitors, — mixing silk with his wool; but his jealous gild brothers had his

entire stock destroyed, completely ruining him, because he had broken the gild rules requiring that hats should be made of "pure wool." This illustrates only one of the countless outgrown restrictions from which English manufacturers escaped about 1600.

But the very success of Europe in winning the long-needed money for its trade had led men into *a new and mischievous delusion*. For some two hundred years after 1600, every one who thought upon such matters at all, believed that money (instead of being merely a convenient measure for wealth) was itself the only real wealth. Under the influence of this "Mercantile" theory, the new nations began at once to build up new barriers against foreign trade — less hurtful, to be sure, than the old feudal toll system, but harmful enough to curse the world down to the present day. Governments long believed that the only way a country could get riches was not by producing more goods or by saving more of what it had, but by getting more gold and silver *money*.

The
"Mercan-
tile" theory

Each country accordingly sought to avoid bringing in imports — as though it could always sell without ever buying. Each sought, too, to get colonial possessions in the new worlds that might supply it with gold and silver, or at least with those articles which otherwise had to be imported from foreign lands. And, of course, each tried to keep its colonies from buying from any one but the "mother" country. This false "political economy" was soon to lead to a century of new wars, and still hinders real brotherhood among men.

EXERCISE. — Compare this English inclosure movement with that in Italy in the time of the Gracchi, and explain why finally it was less ruinous.

CHAPTER XXXIX

PURITANISM AND POLITICS IN ENGLAND

I. UNDER THE FIRST STUARTS, 1603-1642

The English
church in
1600

England escaped a strictly "religious" war; but for two generations after 1600 *the burning questions in politics as in religion had to do with Puritanism*. Within the established Episcopal church the *dominant* party had strong "High-church" leanings. It wished to restore so far as possible the ceremonial of the old Catholic church, and it taught that the government of the church by bishops had been directly ordained by God. This party was ardently supported by the royal "head of the church" — Elizabeth, James, Charles, in turn; but it was engaged in constant struggle with a large, aggressive Puritan party. The same two parties had also sharp political differences, and the strife finally became civil war.

"Low-
church"
Puritans

Two groups of Puritans stood in sharp opposition to each other, — the influential "Low-church" element within the church, and the despised Separatists outside of it. The Low-churchmen had no wish to separate church and state. They wanted one national church — a Low-church church — to which everybody within England should be forced to conform. They desired also to introduce more preaching into the service, to simplify ceremonies, and to abolish altogether certain customs which they called "Romish," — the use of the surplice, and of the ring in marriage, of the sign of the cross in baptism, and (some of them) of the prayer-book. There was even *a subdivision among them inclined to the Presbyterian church government*, as it existed in Scotland.

The
Separatists

The Independents, or "Puritans of the Separation," believed that there should be *no* national church, but that each local religious organization should be a little democratic society, wholly *separate* from the civil government, and even

independent of other churches. These Independents were the Puritans of the Puritans. To all other sects they seemed mere anarchists in religion. Elizabeth persecuted them savagely, and her successor continued that policy. Some of the Independent churches fled to Holland; and one of them, from Scrooby in northern England, after staying several years at Leyden, founded Plymouth in America (the "Pilgrims" of 1620).

Political liberty in England had fallen low under the Tudors (p. 311); but, after all, *Henry VIII and Elizabeth had ruled absolutely, only because they made use of constitutional forms* and because they possessed a shrewd tact which taught them just where to stop. Moreover, toward the close of Elizabeth's reign, when foreign perils were past, men spoke again boldly of checks upon the royal power.

Political
conditions
in 1600

Elizabeth was succeeded by *James I* (James Stuart), already king of Scotland (footnote, p. 339). James was learned and conceited, — "the wisest fool in Christendom," as Henry IV of France called him. He believed sincerely in the "divine right" of kings. That is, he believed that the king, as God's anointed, was the source of law and could not himself be controlled by law. He wrote a pompous and tiresome book to prove this. He and his son after him were despots *on principle*. The nation had been growing restive under the cloaked, beneficent, elastic tyranny of the strong Tudors: naturally it rose in fierce opposition against the noisy, needless, and uncompromising tyranny of the weak Stuarts.

The
"divine-
right"
Stuart
kings

And the
English
people

There were, as yet, no *organized* political parties. But there was a *court party*, devoted to the royal power, consisting of most of the nobles and of the "High-church" clergy; and an opposition *country party*, consisting of the merchants, the mass of country gentry, and the Puritan element generally. *The issue between the two was promptly stated*. Even before his first Parliament met, James I, in a famous utterance, summed up his theory: "As it is atheism and blas-

The germs
of political
parties

**Struggle
between
James I and
Parliament**

phemy in a creature to dispute what God can do, so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to question what a king can do." This became the tone of the court party. When Parliament assembled, it took the first chance to answer these new claims. The king, as usual, opened Parliament with a "speech from the throne." As usual, the Speaker of the Commons replied; but, in place of the usual thanks to his majesty, he reminded James bluntly that in England the royal power was limited. "New laws," said the Speaker, "cannot be instituted, nor imperfect laws reformed . . . by any other power than this high court of Parliament." The Commons backed up this speech by a long paper, asserting that the privileges of Englishmen were their inheritance "no less than their lands and goods."

James seldom called Parliaments after this, and only when he had to have money. Fortunately, the regular royal revenues had never been much increased, while the rise in prices and the wider duties of government called for more money than in former times. *Both Elizabeth and James were poor.* Elizabeth, however, had been economical and thrifty. James was careless and wasteful, and could not get along without new taxes.

**Freedom of
speech in
Parliament**

Thus Parliament was able to hold its own. It insisted stubbornly on its control of taxation, on freedom of speech, and on its right to impeach the king's ministers. In the Parliament of 1621, the Commons expressed dissatisfaction with a marriage that James had planned for his son Charles with a Spanish princess. James roughly forbade them to discuss such "high matters of state." "Let us resort to our prayers," said one of the members, "and then consider this great business." The outcome of the consideration was a resolution, "(1) that the liberties, privileges, and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright of the subjects of England; and (2) that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, the state, the church, the defense of the realm, the making and maintenance of laws, and the redress of grievances, which happen daily within

PLATE LXII



CHARLES I attended by the Marquis of Hamilton; the famous painting by Van Dyck, who spent much time at Charles' court.

this realm, are proper subjects for debate in Parliament; and (3) that in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, *every member of the Commons . . . has freedom of speech . . . to bring to conclusion the same.*"

James tore out this page of the records and dissolved Parliament. But Prince Charles was personally insulted by the Spanish court, where he had gone to visit the princess; and in the last year of James' life the prince succeeded in forcing him into war with Spain — to the boundless joy of the nation.

In March, 1625, in the midst of shame and disgrace because of mismanagement of the war, James died. In May, *Charles I* met his first Parliament. He quarreled with it at once, dissolved it, and turned to an eager prosecution of the war, trusting to win the nation to his side by glorious victory. Ignominious failure, instead, forced him to meet his second Parliament in 1626.

The early
Parliaments
of Charles I

It is now that Sir John Eliot stands forth as leader of the patriots. Eliot stood for the control of the king's ministers by Parliament. Everything else, he saw, was likely to prove worthless, if the executive could not be held responsible. *The king's person* could not be so held, except by revolution, but *his ministers* might be *impeached*; and, under fear of this, they might be held in control. So Eliot persuaded the Commons to impeach the Duke of Buckingham, the king's favorite and the instrument of much past tyranny. Charles stopped the proceedings by casting Eliot into prison — in plain defiance of parliamentary privileges — and dissolving Parliament.

Sir John
Eliot
and the
"responsi-
bility" of
the king's
ministers

The king fell back upon "benevolences" ("good-will" *gifts*) to raise a revenue. This was a device that *originated* during the Wars of the Roses. Henry VIII, absolute as he was, had renounced the practice. Now Charles revived and *extended* it, ordering *his sheriffs in the county courts to ask benevolences from all taxpayers*. But county after county refused to give a penny, often with cheers for Parliament.

The king
tries "be-
nevolences"

Then the king tried a "forced loan." This was a tax thinly disguised by the false promise to repay it. The king's

The
"forced
loan"

England
resists

party used both force and persuasion. Pulpits, manned now by the anti-Puritan party, rang with the cry that to resist the king was eternal damnation. As a patriot of the time put it, the "High-church" clergy "improved the highwayman's formula into 'Your money or your life *eternal*.'" And Charles made use of more immediate penalties. Poor freeholders who refused to pay were "pressed" into the navy, or a turbulent soldiery was quartered in their defenseless homes; and two hundred English gentlemen were confined in disgraceful prisons, to subdue their obstinacy. One young squire, John Hampden, who had based his refusal to pay upon a clause in Magna Carta, was rewarded with so close an imprisonment that, his kinsman tells us, "he never did look the same man after."

Parliament
of 1628

The forced loan raised little revenue: and with an armament poorly fitted out, Buckingham sailed against France (with which his blundering policy had brought England into war). For the third time in four years an English army was wasted to no purpose; and sunk in debt and shame, Charles met his third Parliament in 1628. Before the elections, the imprisoned country gentlemen were released, and *some seventy of them* (all who appeared as candidates) *sat in the new Parliament*, in spite of the royal efforts to prevent their election.

And the
"Petition of
Right"

Charles asked for money. Instead of giving it, the Commons debated the recent infringements of English liberties and some way to provide security in future. The king offered to give his *word* that such things should not occur again, but was reminded that he had already given his *oath* at his coronation. Finally Parliament passed "the Petition of Right," a document that ranks with Magna Carta in the history of English liberty. This great law first recited the ancient statutes, from Magna Carta down, against arbitrary imprisonment, arbitrary taxation, quartering of soldiery upon the people in time of peace, and against forced loans and benevolences. Then it named the frequent violations of right in these respects in recent years. And finally it declared all such infringements illegal.

After evasive delays, Charles felt compelled to give his consent (and accordingly the "petition" became a great statute); but at once, in a recess of Parliament, he broke the provisions regarding taxes. Parliament reassembled in bitter humor. Heedless of the king's plea for money, it turned to punish the officers who had acted as his agents in recent infringements of the law. The Speaker stopped this business by announcing that he had the king's command to adjourn the House.¹ Men knew that it would not be permitted to meet again, and there followed a striking scene. The Speaker was thrust back into his chair and held there;² the doors were locked against the king's messenger; and Eliot in a ringing speech moved a series of resolutions which were to form the platform of the liberal party in the dark years to come. Royalist members cried, Traitor! Traitor! Swords were drawn. Outside, an usher pounded at the door with a message of dissolution from the king. But the bulk of the members sternly voted the resolutions, declaring *traitors to England* (1) any one who should bring in innovations in religion without the consent of Parliament, (2) any minister who should advise the illegal levy of taxes, (3) any officer who should aid in their collection, and (4) every citizen who should voluntarily pay them.

Eliot's
resolutions

And in the moment's hush, when the great deed was done, Eliot's voice was heard once more, and for the last time, in that hall: "For myself, I further protest, as I am a gentleman, if my fortune be ever again to meet in this honorable assembly, where I now leave off, I will begin again." Then the doors swung open, and the angry crowd surged out. Eliot passed to the Tower, to die there a prisoner four years later. But Eliot's friends remembered his words; and, when another Parliament did meet, where he had left off, *they began again*.

Eliot's
death

¹ The king could *adjourn* the Parliament from time to time, or he could *dissolve* it altogether, so that no Parliament could meet until he had called for new elections.

² If the Speaker left the chair, business was at an end.

"No Parlia-
ment"
years

First, however, England passed through a gloomy period. No Parliament met for eleven years (1629-1640), and the king's edicts were the only law. Charles sought, too, ingeniously to find new ways to get money, and his lawyers invented the device of "ship-money." In time of invasion, seaboard counties had now and then been called upon by earlier kings to furnish ships for the national navy. Charles stretched this custom into a precedent for collecting a "*ship-money tax*" from all England in *time of peace*.

John
Hampden
and the
"ship-
money" tax

John Hampden (p. 372) refused to pay the twenty shillings assessed upon his lands, and the famous *ship-money case* went to the courts (1637). The slavish judges decided for the king — as had been expected. The king's friends were jubilant, seeing in the new tax "an everlasting supply on all occasions"; but Hampden had won the moral victory he sought. The twelve-day argument of the lawyers attracted wide attention, and the court in its decision was compelled to state the theory of despotism in its naked hideousness. It declared that there was *no power to check the king's authority* over his subjects, — their persons or their money, — "For," said the Chief Justice, "*no act of Parliament makes any difference.*" If England submitted now, she would deserve slavery.

Laud and
Wentworth

The chief servants of the crown during this period were Archbishop Laud and Thomas Wentworth. Wentworth had been one of the leaders in securing the Petition of Right, but soon afterward he passed over to the side of the king and became Earl of Strafford. His old associates looked upon him as a traitor to the cause of liberty.

Laud was an extreme High-churchman and a conscientious bigot. He reformed the discipline of the church and ennobled the ritual; but he persecuted the Puritan clergy cruelly, with imprisonment and even by the cutting off of ears. (As a result of this and of the political discouragement, that sect founded the colony of Massachusetts Bay. Practically all the immigration this colony received, before the American Revolution, came in the ten years 1630-1640, while Charles ruled without Parliament.)

PLATE LXIII



CROMWELL VISITING MILTON, finds him composing music. — This painting by David Neal represents an event in the lives of these neighboring country gentlemen before the days of the Long Parliament.

In 1638 Laud tried to force Episcopacy on Presbyterian Scotland. (Scotland had been joined to England when her King James had become king of England, but each country had its own Parliament, laws, and church. The union was "personal," and consisted in the fact that the two countries had the same king.) But when the clergyman of the great church at Edinburgh appeared first in surplice, prayer-book in hand, Jenny Geddes, a servant girl, hurled her stool at his head, crying, — "Out, priest! Dost say mass at my lug [ear]!" The service broke up in wild disorder, and there followed a strange scene in the churchyard where stern, grizzled men drew blood from their arms, wherewith to sign their names to a "Solemn Oath and Covenant" to defend their own form of religion with their lives. This Covenant spread swiftly over all Lowland Scotland, and the Covenanters rose in arms and crossed the border.

The
Scottish
Covenanters

Charles' system of absolutism fell like a house of cards. He could get no help from England without a Parliament; and (November, 1640) he called *the Long Parliament*. The great leaders of that famous assembly were the Commons *Pym, Hampden, Sir Harry Vane*,¹ and, somewhat later, *Cromwell*. Pym took the place of Eliot, and promptly indicated that the Commons were the real rulers of England. When the Lords tried to delay reform, he brought them to time by his veiled threat: he "should be sorry if the House of Commons had to save England *alone*."

The Long
Parliament

John Pym's
leadership

The Scots remained encamped in England; so the king had to assent to Parliament's bills. Parliament first made itself safe by a law *that it could be dissolved only by its own vote*. Then it began where Eliot had left off, and sternly put into action the principles of his last resolutions. Laud, who had "brought in innovations in religion," and Wentworth, who had advised and helped carry out the king's policy, were condemned to death as traitors. The lawyers who had advised ship-money, and the judges who had declared it legal, were cast into prison or driven into banishment. And forty committees

And Eliot's
old
program

¹ Vane had lived in Massachusetts and had been governor there.

were appointed, one for each county, to secure the punishment of the lesser officers concerned in the illegal acts of the government. These measures filled the first year,¹ and so far the Commons had been united.

Parliament
hesitates

But now a split began. Moderate men thought enough had been done. To do more, they feared, would mean revolution and anarchy. So they drew nearer to the king. On the other hand, more far-sighted leaders, like Pym and Hampden, saw the necessity of securing safeguards for the future, since the king's promises were worthless.

Pym's
"Remonstrance"

Pym brought matters to a head by introducing a Grand Remonstrance, — a series of resolutions which appealed to the country for support in further measures against the king, proposing, in particular, that the king's choice of ministers (his chancellor, and so on) should be subject to the approval of Parliament. After an all-night debate, marked by bitter speech and even by the drawing of swords, the Commons adopted the Remonstrance *by the narrow majority of eleven votes*, amid a scene of wild confusion (November 22, 1641). Said Cromwell, as the House broke up, "If it had failed, I should have sold all I possess to-morrow, and never seen England more."

Charles' attempt
to seize "the
five
members"

Charles tried to reverse this small majority by destroying Pym, Hampden, and three other leaders, on a charge of treasonable correspondence with the invading Scots. No doubt they had been technically guilty of treason. But such "treason" against Charles was the noblest loyalty to England. The Commons paid no attention to the king's charges; and so Charles entered the House in person, followed to the door by a body of armed cavaliers, to seize "the five members." News of his coming had preceded him; and, at the order of the House, the five had withdrawn. But the despotic attempt, and weak failure, consolidated the opposition. London rose in arms, and sent trainbands to guard Parliament. And Parliament now demanded that the king give it *control of the*

¹ The trial of Laud came later, but he was already a prisoner.



CHARLES I ORDERS THE SPEAKER OF THE COMMONS TO POINT OUT THE FIVE MEMBERS. — (The Commons are in uproar; but note that in the king's presence they have removed their hats, which they usually wore; cf. pp. 379, 385.) A painting by the American artist, Copley.

PLATE LXV



OLIVER CROMWELL in armor. — A painting from life by Robert Walker.
Cf. plate facing p. 375.

militia and of the education of the royal princes. Charles withdrew to the conservative North, and unfurled the standard of civil war (1642).

FOR FURTHER READING. — Green's *English People* (or his *Short History*) is thrillingly interesting for this and the following periods.

II. THE GREAT REBELLION AND THE "REVOLUTION"

Many men who had gone with Parliament in its reforms, now chose the king's side rather than open rebellion. The majority of the gentry sided with the king, while in general the merchant and manufacturing classes, the shopkeepers and the yeomanry fought for Parliament. At the same time, the struggle was a true "civil war," dividing families and old friends. The king's party took the name "Cavaliers" from the court nobles; while the parliamentarians were called "Round Heads," in derision, from the cropped hair of the London 'prentice lads. (The portrait of Cromwell shows that Puritan gentlemen did not crop their hair. Short hair was a "class" mark.)

The
Civil War.
1642-1645

At first Charles was successful. Shopboys could not stand before the chivalry of the "Cavaliers." But *Oliver Cromwell*, a colonel in the parliamentary army, had raised a troop known as *Ironsides*. He saw that the only force Parliament could oppose to the habitual bravery of the English gentleman was the religious enthusiasm of the extreme Puritans. Accordingly, he drew his recruits from the Independents of the east of England, — mostly yeomen farmers. They were men of godly lives, who fell on their knees for prayer before battle, and then charged with the old Hebrew battle psalms upon their lips. By this troop the great battle of Marston Moor was won. Then Cromwell was put in chief command. He reorganized the whole army upon this "*New Model*"; and the victory of *Naseby* (1645) virtually closed the war.

Cromwell's
Ironsides

When the war began, many Episcopalians in Parliament withdrew to join the king. This left the Presbyterians almost in control. Before long this party was strengthened still further by the need of buying the aid of Presbyterian Scotland.

Quarrel be-
tween Inde-
pendents
and Presby-
terians

Then Parliament made the English church Presbyterian. Soon, it began to *compel* all men to accept this form of worship. On this point, the Presbyterian Parliament and the Independent "New Model" quarreled. Charles, now a prisoner, tried to play off one against the other. "Be quite easy," he wrote his wife, "as to the concessions I may grant. When the time comes, I shall know very well how to treat these rogues; and, instead of a silken garter [the badge of an honorary order of knighthood] I will fit them with a hempen halter."

But now the real government of England was in the army. A council of officers, with Cromwell for their head, prepared plans; and the whole army "sought the Lord" regarding them in monster prayer-meetings, and quickly stamped out the royalist and Presbyterian risings. Then, under order from the council of officers, Colonel Pride "purged" the House of Commons by expelling 143 Presbyterians. After "Pride's Purge" (December, 1648), Parliament rarely had an attendance of more than sixty — out of an original membership of some five hundred. The "Rump" were all Independents, and their leader was Vane. (Pym and Hampden had died some time before.)

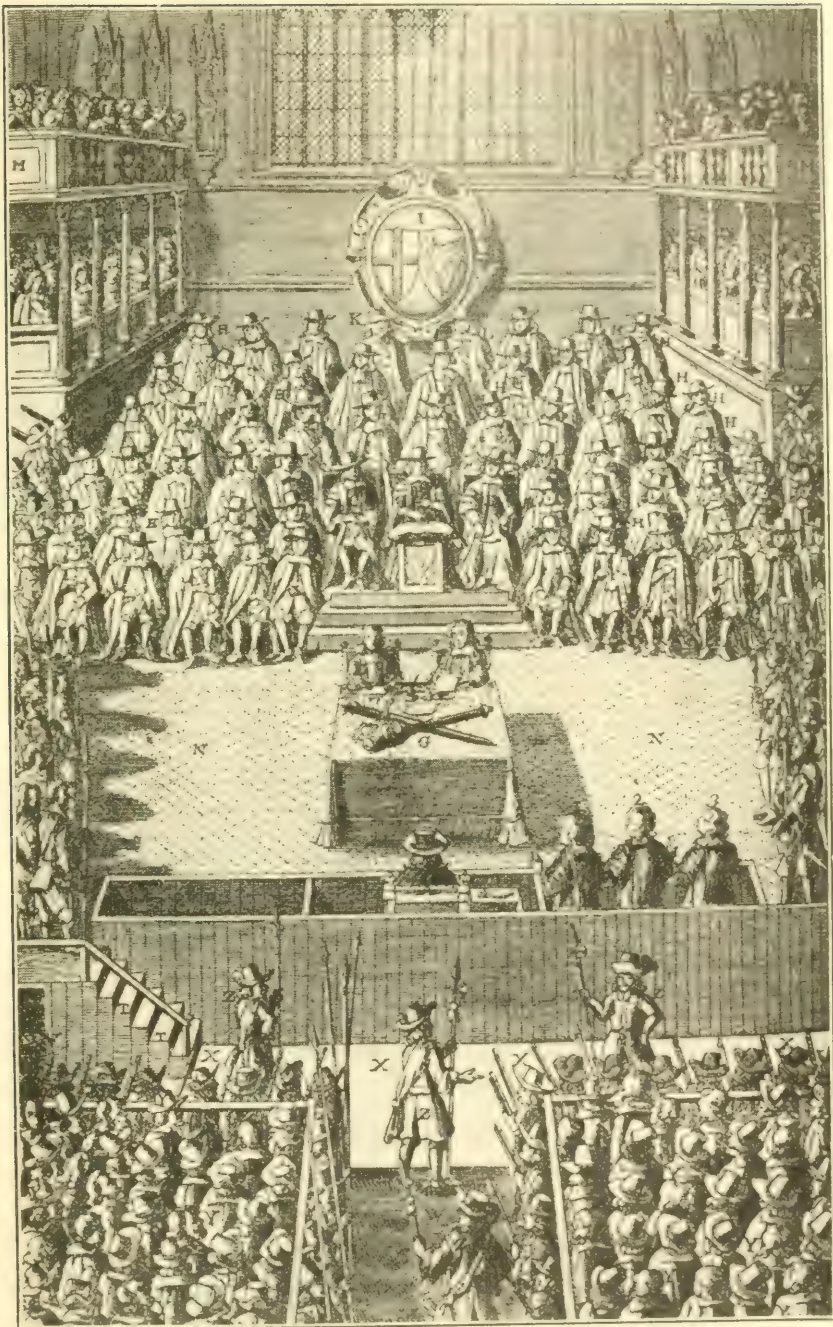
The Com-
monwealth,
1648-1654

*This remnant of Parliament, backed by the army, abolished monarchy and the House of Lords, and brought "Charles Stuart, that man of blood," to trial for treason to England. Charles was executed, January 20, 1649, dying with better grace than he had lived. Then the "Rump" Parliament abolished Presbyterianism as a state church, and **declared England a republic**, under the name of the Commonwealth. "The people," said a famous resolution, "are, under God, the original of all just power; and the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, being chosen by the people, have the supreme power in this nation."*

Battle of
Worcester

The Scots were not ready for such radical measures, and they were offended by the overthrow of Presbyterianism. So they crowned the son of the dead king as Charles II, and invaded England. Cromwell crushed them at Worcester, and the young "King of Scots" escaped to the continent.

PLATE LXVI



TRIAL OF CHARLES I. — An engraving in Nelson's "True Copy of the Journal of the High Court of Justice for the Tryal of King Charles I.," published in 1684, and reproduced in Green's *English People*.

The Rump ruled four years more, but it was only the shadow of the Parliament chosen thirteen years before. Cromwell urged a new Parliament. Finally the Rump agreed to call one, but planned to give places in that body to



GREAT SEAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH, 1651, — the British Isles on one side, the nation (represented by the House of Commons) on the reverse. From Green's *English People*.

all its own members *without reëlection*. Learning of this scheme, Cromwell hurried to the House with a file of musketeers and dissolved it in a stormy scene (1653).

The real trouble was that, though the Independents had won control by the discipline of their army, they were after all only a small fraction of the nation. Cromwell tried for a while to get a new Parliament that would adopt a constitution, but the assemblies proved dilatory and fractious; and finally the *army officers* drew up a constitution. This "Instrument of Government" made Cromwell practically a dictator, under the title Lord Protector (1654).

Cromwell's rule was stained by shameful cruelties in Ireland; but in other respects it was wise and firm. He made England once more a Great Power, peaceful at home and respected abroad; and he gave freedom of worship to all *Protestant* sects, — a more liberal policy in religion than could be found anywhere else in that age except in Holland and in Roger Williams' little colony just founded in Rhode Island. At the best, however, this government was a government of force.

The noble experiment of a republic had failed miserably in the hands of its friends; and, on Cromwell's death, the nation, with wild rejoicings, welcomed back Charles II in "*the Restoration*" of 1660.

The
Restoration
of 1660

With the Restoration, the great age of Puritanism closed. The court, and the young cavaliers all over the land gave

themselves up to shameful licentiousness. (But, in just this age of defeat, Puritanism found its highest expression in literature. *John Milton*, years before, had given noble poems to the world — like his *L'Allegro* — but for many years he had abandoned poetry to work in Cromwell's Council and splendidly to champion the Puritan cause and freedom of speech in prose pamphlets. Now, a blind, disappointed old man, he composed *Paradise Lost*. And *John Bunyan*, a dissenting minister, lying in jail under the persecuting laws of the new government, wrote *Pilgrim's Progress*.)



BLAKE'S VICTORY OVER VON TROMP at Plymouth in 1653. — Shortly before, Von Tromp, the Dutch admiral, had roundly defeated the British, and sailed up the Thames with a broom at his masthead. Blake's victory restored England's naval supremacy. This painting is by a recent French artist, Jules Noël.

The
Episcopal
church
restored

The established church became again Episcopalian, as it has since remained. In the reaction against Puritan rule, the new Parliament passed *many cruel acts of persecution*. All dissenters — Catholic and Protestant — were excluded from the right to hold municipal office; and all religious worship except the Episcopalian was punished with severe penalties.

In spite of all this, the *political* principles for which the early Puritan Parliaments of Charles I had contended were victorious. Charles knew he could never get another Parliament so much to his mind as the one that had been elected in the fervor of welcome at his restoration; and so he shrewdly kept that "Cavalier Parliament" through most of his reign — till 1679. But even this Parliament insisted strenuously on Parliament's sole right to impose taxes, regulate the church, and control foreign policy; and Charles' second Parliament adopted the great Habeas Corpus Act, which still secures Englishmen against arbitrary imprisonment — such as had been so common under Charles' father. (The *principle* of this act was older than Magna Carta; but the law of Charles' time first provided *adequate machinery*, much as we have it in America to-day, to enforce the principle.)

Political
liberty
preserved

Charles II was careless, indolent, selfish, extravagant, witty. He is known as the "Merry Monarch." One of his courtiers described him in jesting rhyme as a king "who never said a foolish thing, and never did a wise one." There is reason to think, however, that beneath his merry exterior Charles was nursing plans for tyranny far more dangerous than his father's; but he died suddenly (1685) before he was ready to act.

Charles II.
1660-1685

Real political parties first appeared toward the close of this reign. Charles had no legitimate son; and his brother and heir, James, was a Catholic of narrow, despotic temper. The more radical members of Parliament introduced a bill to exclude him from the throne: and their supporters throughout England sent up monster petitions to have the bill made law. The Catholics and the more conservative part of Parliament, especially those who believed that Parliament had no right to change the succession, sent up counter-petitions expressing horror at the proposal. These "Abhorrrers" called the other petitioners *Whigs* (Whey-eaters), a name sometimes given to the extreme Scotch Calvinists with their sour faces. The Whigs reviled their opponents as *Tories* (bog-trotters), a name for the ragged Irish rebels who had supported the Catholic and royal policy in the Civil War. The bill failed; but the

Beginning
of political
parties

**Whigs and
Tories**

rough division into parties remained. In general, *the Whigs believed in the supremacy of Parliament*, and sought on every occasion to limit the royal authority; while *the Tories* sustained the royal authority and *wished to prevent any further extension of the powers of the people*.

**James II,
1685-1688**

James II lacked his brother's tact. He arbitrarily "suspended" the laws against Catholics, tried to intimidate the law courts, and rapidly increased the standing army. It was believed that he meant to make the established church Catholic; and this belief prepared England for revolution. The Whig leaders called for aid to *William of Orange*, the Stadtholder of Holland, who had married James' daughter Mary. William landed with a handful of troops. James found himself utterly deserted, even by his army, and fled to France.

**The
"Glorious
Revolution"**

The *story* of this Revolution of 1688 is not a noble one. Selfishness and deceit mark every step. William of Orange is the only fine character on either side. As Macaulay says, it was "an age of *great measures and little men*"; and the term "glorious," which English historians have applied to the Revolution, must be taken to belong to results only.

**The Bill of
Rights**

Those *results* were of mighty import. A Convention-Parliament declared the throne vacant, drew up the great Declaration of Rights, the "third great document in the Bible of English Liberties" (stating once more the fundamental liberties of Englishmen), and elected William and Mary joint sovereigns *on condition of their assenting to the Declaration*. The supremacy of Parliament over the king was once more firmly established. *The new sovereigns*, like the old Lancastrians (and like all English sovereigns since) *had only a parliamentary title* to the throne. (The next regular Parliament enacted the *Declaration* of Rights into a "Bill of Rights.")

**William III,
1688-1702**

William III was a great-grandson of William the Silent. He ranks among England's greatest kings, but he was a foreigner, and unpopular. (He spoke only his native Dutch, not English.) His reign was spent mainly in war against the overshadowing might of Louis XIV of France. While Stadtholder

of Holland, William had already become the most formidable opponent of Louis XIV's schemes (p. 392); and now the French king undertook to restore James II to the English throne.

This began the "Second Hundred Years' War" between France and England. With slight intervals, the struggle lasted from 1689 to 1815. The story will be told in future chapters. Now it is enough to note that the long conflict turned the government's attention away from reform and progress at home. Just in the first years, however, some great steps forward were taken — which were properly part of the Revolution.

Religious reform was embodied in the *Act of Toleration* of 1689, in which, at William's insistence, Parliament granted freedom of *worship* to *Protestant* dissenters (though even these most favored dissenters from the English church did not yet secure the right to hold office or to enter the universities.) The chief gains in *political* liberty come under four heads.

1. Judges were made independent of the king (removable only by Parliament).

2. A triennial bill ordered that a new Parliament should be elected at least once in three years. (In 1716, the term was made *seven* years.)

3. Parliament adopted the simple device of granting money for government expenses only for a year at a time (instead of for the lifetime of the sovereign), and *only after all other business had been attended to*. Thenceforward, Parliaments have been assembled each year, and they have practically fixed their own adjournments.

4. The greatest problem of parliamentary government (as Sir John Eliot had seen) was to control the "king's ministers" and make them really the ministers of Parliament. Parliament could remove and punish the king's advisers; but such action could be secured only by a serious struggle, and against notorious offenders. Some way was wanted to secure ministers acceptable to Parliament *easily* and *at all times*.

This desired "cabinet government" was secured *indirectly* through the next century and a half; but the first important steps were taken in the reign of William. At first William tried

Beginning of
cabinet
government

to unite the kingdom, and balance Whigs and Tories, by keeping the leaders of both parties among his ministers. But he was much annoyed by the jealousy and suspicion which Parliament felt toward his measures, and by the danger of a deadlock between king and Parliament at critical times. Then a shrewd political schemer suggested to the king that he should choose *all* his advisers and assistants from the Whigs, who had a majority in the House of Commons. Such ministers would have the confidence of the Commons; and that body would support their proposals, instead of blocking all measures. William accepted this suggestion; and a little later, when the Tories for a time secured a majority, he carried out the principle by replacing his "cabinet" with leading Tories. *This was the beginning of ministerial government, or of "responsible ministries."*

William, however, was a powerful ruler. He was not a tyrant in any way; but he believed in a king's authority, and *he succeeded for the most part in keeping the ministers the "king's ministers"* — to carry out his policy. Queen Anne, Mary's sister, (1702–1714) tried to maintain a similar control over her ministry. But, like William and Mary, she too died without leaving children; and the crown passed by a new *Act of Settlement* to a great-grandson of James I, the German George I, who was already Elector of Hanover. (This law, like the earlier one providing for the succession of Anne, excluded nearer heirs because they were Catholics.)

Growth of
cabinet
government
under the
Georges

Neither George I nor his son George II spoke English; and so far as they cared for matters of government at all, they were interested in their German principality rather than in England. During the half-century (1714–1760) of these stupid German Georges, the government of England was left to the group of ministers.

Sir Robert
Walpole

Unhappily, Parliament itself did not yet really represent the nation. Walpole, Prime Minister from 1721 to 1742, *ruled largely by unblushing corruption*. Said he cynically, "Every man has his price." During his rule, *it was not a parliamentary majority that made the ministry, but the ministry that made the parliamentary majority*. (The same method, used only a little

PLATE LXVII



WHITE'S CHOCOLATE HOUSE.—a painting by William Hogarth in 1733. Hogarth was a "pictorial satirist," who portrayed strikingly the follies of his age. Several of his paintings picture tavern life. "White's" was the most celebrated resort in London. (Some fifty years later it grew into the first *private* "Club.")

There was a separate gambling room at White's in Hogarth's time, but here the dice are represented in use also in the public room. The picture is the sixth in a famous series, known as *The Rake's Progress*. The central figure in front is the leading character of the series, — now cursing frenziedly at the completion of his financial ruin. At the small table to the left, a well-known nobleman is writing an I. O. U., to secure more gold from a waiting usurer. On the further side, another money lender is counting gold into the hand of an eager borrower. All these gamblers are so absorbed in their gaming that they have failed to notice flames that have broken out — so that a street "watch," with staff and lantern, has just rushed in to arouse them to the danger. One other feature of the time is symbolized by the portrait of a noted highwayman (in riding boots and with pistol and mask protruding from his pocket) seated by the fireplace, so lost in thought that the boy with the glass cannot get his attention. Such "gentlemen of the road" were not unknown in London taverns.

less shamelessly, was the means by which the ministers of George III in the next generation managed Parliament and brought it to drive the American colonies into war.)

Meantime England had become Great Britain. James I (1603) had joined Scotland and England under one crown. In 1707 this "personal union" was made a true consolidation by the "Act of Union," adopted by the Parliaments of both countries. Scotland gave up her separate legislature, and became part of the "United Kingdom," with the right to send members to the English Parliament and to keep her own established Presbyterian church. Halfway between these two dates, Cromwell completed the conquest of Ireland. And that same seventeenth century had seen a vaster expansion of England and of Europe, to which we now turn.

England
grows into
Great
Britain



HOUSE OF COMMONS. — From part of a painting by Hogarth in 1730. (For an account of the artist, see Plate opposite.) The figures in the foreground are Sir Robert Walpole and the Speaker (Onslow). Several other faces also are portraits. Note the wigs, the cocked hats (worn by all members except when addressing the House), and the quill pen in the hand of the clerk. The representation of the hall is perhaps the best we have of the old hall in which the Commons sat before the erection of the present Parliament buildings.

FOR FURTHER READING. — It is desirable for reading students to continue Green at least through the Revolution of 1688. Blackmore's *Lorna Doone* is a splendid story which touches some passages in the history of the closing seventeenth century.

EXERCISE. — The dates in English seventeenth-century history are important for an understanding of early American history: especially, 1603 (accession of James I); 1629–1640 (No-Parliament period); 1648–1660 (Commonwealth); 1660 (Restoration); 1688 (Revolution).

CHAPTER XL

EXPANSION OF EUROPE INTO NEW WORLDS

The center
of historical
interest
shifts
westward

Columbus and Da Gama (pp. 326-327) had doubled the size of the known earth, added a new stir to European thought, and revolutionized the distribution of wealth in Europe. The center of historical interest shifted westward once more. The Mediterranean, for two thousand years the one great highway between Europe and the Orient, gave way to the Atlantic and the "passage round the Cape." The cities of Italy lost their leadership both in commerce and in art, while vast gain fell to the seaboard countries on the Atlantic. For a hundred years, it is true, direct gains were confined to the two countries which had begun the explorations. Portugal built up a rich empire in the Indian Ocean and in the Pacific, and an accident gave her Brazil. Otherwise, the sixteenth century in America belongs to Spain.

Spain in
America

The story of Spain's conquests is a tale of heroic endurance, marred by ferocious cruelty. Not till twenty years after the discovery did the Spaniards advance to the mainland of America for settlement; but, once begun, her handful of adventurers swooped north and south. By 1550, she held all South America (save Portugal's Brazil), all Central America, Mexico, the Californias far up the Pacific coast, and the Floridas.

Defeat of
the Armada,
1588

Nor was Spain content with this huge empire. She was planning grandly to occupy the Mississippi valley and the Appalachian slope in America, and to seize Holland and England in Europe; but in 1588 she received her fatal check, at the hands of the English sea dogs, in the ruin of her Invincible Armada.

France in
America

For a time France seemed most likely to succeed Spain as mistress in *North America*. In 1608 Champlain founded the first permanent French colony at Quebec. Soon canoe-fleets of traders and missionaries were coasting the shores of the Great Lakes

and establishing stations at various points still known by French names. Finally, in 1682, after years of gallant effort, La Salle followed the Mississippi to the Gulf, setting up a French claim to the entire valley. From that time New France consisted of



LA SALLE TAKING POSSESSION OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY (UNDER THE NAME *Louisiana*) FOR FRANCE. — This picture, exhibited by Marchand at the St. Louis Exposition in 1904, is faithful to La Salle's account. The act was performed at the mouth of the river, with legal attestation; and to it are traced land titles over much of the valley to-day.

a colony on the St. Lawrence, in the far north, and the semi-tropical colony of New Orleans, joined to each other by a thin chain of trading posts and military stations along the connecting waterways.

It is easy to point out certain French advantages in the race with England for North America. At home French statesmen worked steadily to build a French empire in the New World, while the English government for the most part ignored English colonies. The thought of such empire for their country, too, inspired French explorers in the wilderness — splendid patriots like Champlain, Ribault, and La Salle. France also sent forth

French
advantages

the most zealous and heroic of missionaries to convert the savages. Moreover, the French could deal with the natives better than the stiffer, less sympathetic English could; and the French leaders were men of far-reaching views.

**Weak points
in French
colonization**

But though *the French colonies* were strong in the leaders, they *were weak* in some vital matters that depended on the mass of the colonists. They lacked *homes, individual enterprise, and political life.*

**Lack of
homes**

1. Except for a few leaders and missionaries, the settlers were either unprogressive peasants or reckless adventurers. For the most part they did not bring families, and, if they married, they took Indian wives. Agriculture was the only basis for a permanent colony; but these colonists turned instead to trapping and the fur trade, and adopted Indian habits.

**Paternalism
in industry**

2. Paternalism smothered private enterprise. New France was taught to depend, not on herself, but on the aid and direction of a government three thousand miles away. Trade was shackled by silly restrictions, and hampered by silly encouragements. The rulers did everything. "Send us money to build storehouses" ran the begging letters of the colonial governors to the French king. "Send us a teacher to make sailors. We want a surgeon." And so, at various times, requests for brickmakers, iron-workers, pilots. New France got the help she asked; but she did not learn to walk alone.

**Lack of
political life**

3. Political life, too, was lacking. France herself had become a centralized despotism; and, in New France, as a French writer (Tocqueville) says, "this deformity was seen as though magnified by a microscope." No public meetings could be held without special license from the governor; and, if licensed, they could do nothing worth while. The governor's ordinances (not the people) regulated pew rent, the order in which dignitaries should sit in church, the number of cattle a man might keep, the pay of chimney sweeps, the charges in inns, and so on. "It is of greatest importance," wrote one official, "that the people should not be at liberty to speak their minds."

Worse than that — the people had no minds to speak. In 1672, Frontenac, the greatest governor of New France, tried to

THE PRINCIPALL
NAVIGATIONS, VOI-
AGES, AND DISCOVERIES OF THE

inghation, made by Sea or ouer Land,

the most convenient and profitable Quarters of
the whole of my time - than the compaile

the personall travels of the English vnto *India, Syria, Arabia, Persia, Ethiopia, the Persian Gulfe, Ormus, Chaul, Bombay* &c. allying to the South parts of *Africa* together vnto *Egypt*, the chiefe ports and places of *Africa* with the *Strait of Gibraltar*, and about the famous Promontory of *Spain*.

the first, in forming the wondrous discoveries of the English towards
the South Sea, and the Sea coast of *India*, *Sumatra*, *Ceylon*, the Baie
of *Amoy*, *Malacca*, *Amoy*, *Amoy*, and *New Zeele* toward the
East, with the mighty Empire of *Kashia*, the *Caspian* Sea, *Georgia*,
the *Mount Peria*, *Escher* in *Babylonia*, & divers kingdoms of *Tartaria*.

and East, including the English valiant attempts in searching all the inner parts of the vast and new world of *America*, from 73. degrees of Northerly latitude Southward, to *Meta Incognita*, *Newfoundland*, the mouth of *Bayanus*, the point of *Torrey*, the Baie of *Mexico*, all the Inlets of *Acadia*, *Florida*, the coast of *Terra firma*, *Brazil*, the river of *Plate*, to the Straight of *Magellan* and through it, and from it in the South Sea to *Guinea*, *India*, *China*, the Gulfe of *California*, *Nova Albion* upon the backside of *America*, further then ever any Christian hitherto hath pierced,

Thurston sailed the last most renowned English Navigation,
round about the year 1497, at the North.

B.1. *Introduction: Motivation, an outline of the course*
 et de la formation de la classe



Printed at London by GEORGE BISHOP
and RALPH NEWBERRY, Deputies to
CHRISTOPHER BARNES, Printer to the

1900-1901-1902-1903-1904-1905-1906-1907-1908-1909-1910-1911-1912-1913-1914-1915-1916-1917-1918-1919-1920-1921-1922-1923-1924-1925-1926-1927-1928-1929-1930-1931-1932-1933-1934-1935-1936-1937-1938-1939-1940-1941-1942-1943-1944-1945-1946-1947-1948-1949-1950-1951-1952-1953-1954-1955-1956-1957-1958-1959-1960-1961-1962-1963-1964-1965-1966-1967-1968-1969-1970-1971-1972-1973-1974-1975-1976-1977-1978-1979-1980-1981-1982-1983-1984-1985-1986-1987-1988-1989-1990-1991-1992-1993-1994-1995-1996-1997-1998-1999-2000-2001-2002-2003-2004-2005-2006-2007-2008-2009-2010-2011-2012-2013-2014-2015-2016-2017-2018-2019-2020-2021-2022-2023-2024-2025-2026-2027-2028-2029-2030-2031-2032-2033-2034-2035-2036-2037-2038-2039-2040-2041-2042-2043-2044-2045-2046-2047-2048-2049-2050-2051-2052-2053-2054-2055-2056-2057-2058-2059-2060-2061-2062-2063-2064-2065-2066-2067-2068-2069-2070-2071-2072-2073-2074-2075-2076-2077-2078-2079-2080-2081-2082-2083-2084-2085-2086-2087-2088-2089-2090-2091-2092-2093-2094-2095-2096-2097-2098-2099-2100-2101-2102-2103-2104-2105-2106-2107-2108-2109-2110-2111-2112-2113-2114-2115-2116-2117-2118-2119-2120-2121-2122-2123-2124-2125-2126-2127-2128-2129-2130-2131-2132-2133-2134-2135-2136-2137-2138-2139-2140-2141-2142-2143-2144-2145-2146-2147-2148-2149-2150-2151-2152-2153-2154-2155-2156-2157-2158-2159-2160-2161-2162-2163-2164-2165-2166-2167-2168-2169-2170-2171-2172-2173-2174-2175-2176-2177-2178-2179-2180-2181-2182-2183-2184-2185-2186-2187-2188-2189-2190-2191-2192-2193-2194-2195-2196-2197-2198-2199-2200-2201-2202-2203-2204-2205-2206-2207-2208-2209-2210-2211-2212-2213-2214-2215-2216-2217-2218-2219-2220-2221-2222-2223-2224-2225-2226-2227-2228-2229-2230-2231-2232-2233-2234-2235-2236-2237-2238-2239-2240-2241-2242-2243-2244-2245-2246-2247-2248-2249-2250-2251-2252-2253-2254-2255-2256-2257-2258-2259-2260-2261-2262-2263-2264-2265-2266-2267-2268-2269-2270-2271-2272-2273-2274-2275-2276-2277-2278-2279-2280-2281-2282-2283-2284-2285-2286-2287-2288-2289-2290-2291-2292-2293-2294-2295-2296-2297-2298-2299-2300-2301-2302-2303-2304-2305-2306-2307-2308-2309-2310-2311-2312-2313-2314-2315-2316-2317-2318-2319-2320-2321-2322-2323-2324-2325-2326-2327-2328-2329-2330-2331-2332-2333-2334-2335-2336-2337-2338-2339-2340-2341-2342-2343-2344-2345-2346-2347-2348-2349-2350-2351-2352-2353-2354-2355-2356-2357-2358-2359-2360-2361-2362-2363-2364-2365-2366-2367-2368-2369-2370-2371-2372-2373-2374-2375-2376-2377-2378-2379-2380-2381-2382-2383-2384-2385-2386-2387-2388-2389-2390-2391-2392-2393-2394-2395-2396-2397-2398-2399-2400-2401-2402-2403-2404-2405-2406-2407-2408-2409-2410-2411-2412-2413-2414-2415-2416-2417-2418-2419-2420-2421-2422-2423-2424-2425-2426-2427-2428-2429-2430-2431-2432-2433-2434-2435-2436-2437-2438-2439-2440-2441-2442-2443-2444-2445-2446-2447-2448-2449-2450-2451-2452-2453-2454-2455-2456-2457-2458-2459-2460-2461-2462-2463-2464-2465-2466-2467-2468-2469-2470-2471-2472-2473-2474-2475-2476-2477-2478-2479-2480-2481-2482-2483-2484-2485-2486-2487-2488-2489-2490-2491-2492-2493-2494-2495-2496-2497-2498-2499-2500-2501-2502-2503-2504-2505-2506-2507-2508-2509-2510-2511-2512-2513-2514-2515-2516-2517-2518-2519-2520-2521-2522-2523-2524-2525-2526-2527-2528-2529-2530-2531-2532-2533-2534-2535-2536-2537-2538-2539-2540-2541-2542-2543-2544-2545-2546-2547-2548-2549-2550-2551-2552-2553-2554-2555-2556-2557-2558-2559-2560-2561-2562-2563-2564-2565-2566-2567-2568-2569-2570-2571-2572-2573-2574-2575-2576-2577-2578-2579-2580-2581-2582-2583-2584-2585-2586-2587-2588-2589-2590-2591-2592-2593-2594-2595-2596-2597-2598-2599-2600-2601-2602-2603-2604-2605-2606-2607-2608-2609-2610-2611-2612-2613-2614-2615-2616-2617-2618-2619-2620-2621-2622-2623-2624-2625-2626-2627-2628-2629-2630-2631-2632-2633-2634-2635-2636-2637-2638-2639-2640-2641-2642-2643-2644-2645-2646-2647-2648-2649-2650-2651-2652-2653-2654-2655-2656-2657-2658-2659-2660-2661-2662-2663-2664-2665-2666-2667-2668-2669-2670-2671-2672-2673-2674-2675-2676-2677-2678-2679-2680-2681-2682-2683-2684-2685-2686-2687-2688-2689-2690-2691-2692-2693-2694-2695-2696-2697-2698-2699-2700-2701-2702-2703-2704-2705-2706-2707-2708-2709-2710-2711-2712-2713-2714-2715-2716-2717-2718

1589.

FACSIMILE OF TITLE PAGE OF HAKLUYT'S VOYAGES.—Richard Hakluyt was an English clergyman deeply interested in forwarding the colonization of America. At Raleigh's suggestion he had written a pamphlet, *Western Planting*, in 1783, in which he used the phrase quoted in our text about putting "a byt" in an enemy's mouth.

introduce a colonial assembly — with power at least of discussion. The home government sternly disapproved this mild innovation, reminding Frontenac that at home the kings had done away with the old States General (p. 291), and directing him to remember that it was “proper that each should speak for himself, and no one for the whole.” The plan fell to pieces; *the people cared so little for it that they made no effort to save it.*

Very different was the fringe of English colonies that grew up on the Atlantic coast, never with a king's subsidies, often out of a king's persecution, and asking no favor but to be let alone.

England's
rivalry with
Spain in
America

During the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when Elizabeth's reign was half gone, England entered openly on a daring rivalry with the overshadowing might of Spain. Out of that rivalry English America was born — by the work not of sovereigns, but of individual adventurous patriots. Reckless and picturesque freebooters, like Drake and Hawkins, sought profit and honor for themselves, and injury to the foe, by raiding the wide-flung realms of New Spain, while the more far-sighted Gilbert and Raleigh strove to “put a byt in the anchent enemy's mouth” by establishing English colonies in America.

These first attempts came to nothing because the energies of the nation were drained by the exhausting struggle with the might of Spain in Europe. Then James became king, and sought Spanish friendship; but Englishmen, beginning to fear lest their chance for empire was slipping through their fingers, insisted all the more that England should not now abandon Virginia, — “this one enterprise left unto these days.”

Motives of
English
promoters
at home

Moreover, England needed an outlet for “crowded” population,¹ and the more enterprising of the hard-pressed yeomanry were glad to seek new homes beyond seas. This class furnished most of the manual labor in the early colonies. But captains and capitalists, too, were needed; and a new condition in England just after the death of Elizabeth turned some of the best of the middle class toward American adventure. Until James made peace

Motives of
colonists

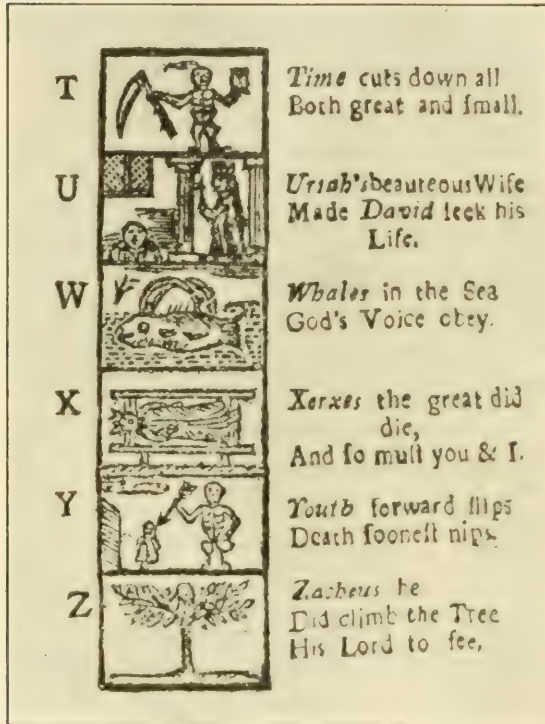
¹ Only a tenth of the present population, but more than the islands could support under the crude industrial system of that date. Cf. p. 365.

with Spain (1604), the high-spirited youth, and especially the younger sons of gentry families, fought in the Low Countries for Dutch independence (p. 350) or made the "gentlemen-adventurers" who under commanders like Drake paralyzed the

vast domain of New Spain with fear. Now these men sought occupation and fortune in colonizing America, still attacking the old enemy, and in his weakest point.

Such were the forces in English life that established Virginia, early in the reign of James I. Toward the close of that same reign, *Puritanism* was added to the colonizing forces, and, before the Long Parliament met, there was a second patch of English colonies on the North Atlantic shore. After this, the

Puritanism

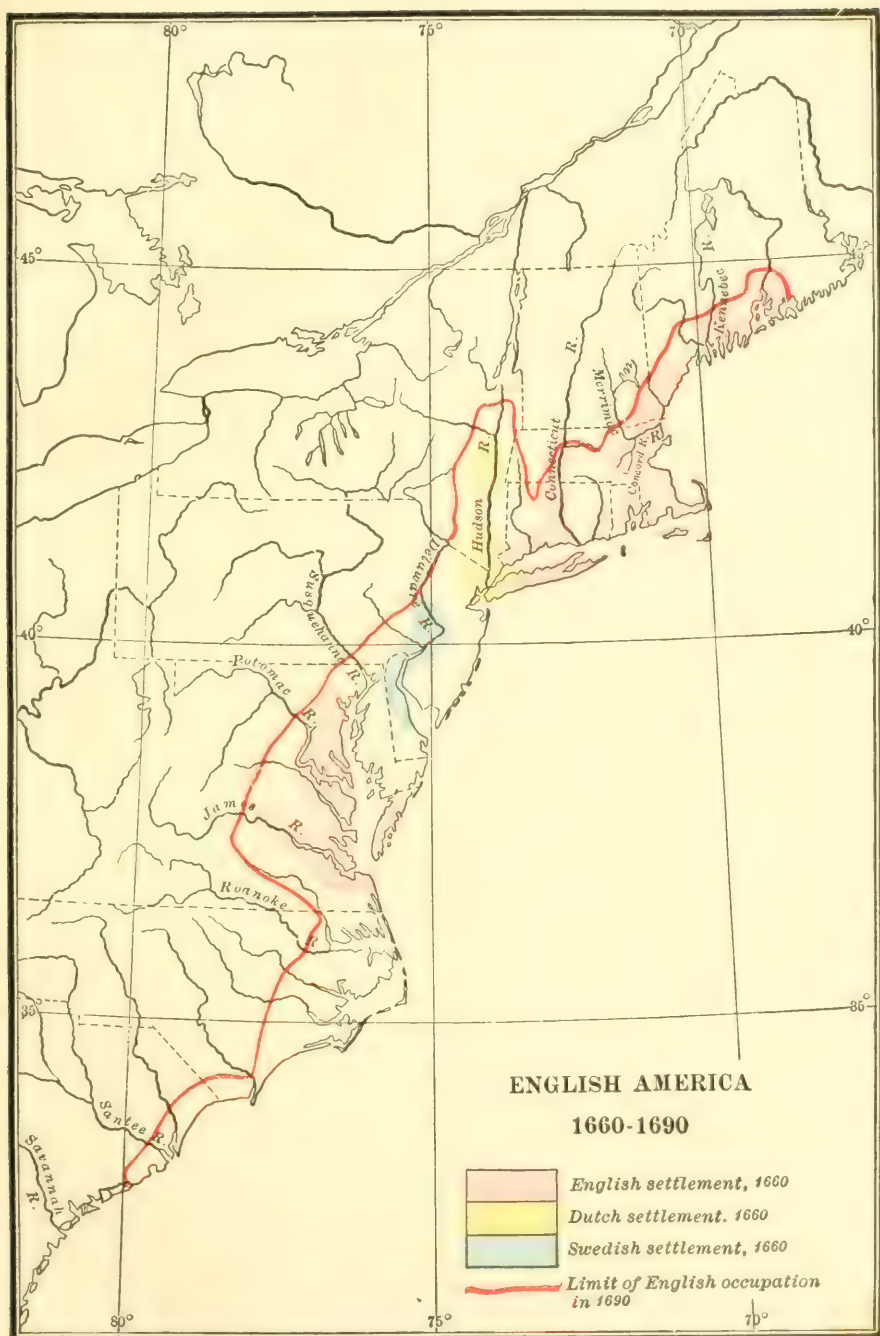


A PAGE FROM THE NEW ENGLAND PRIMER, published in 1680. — This textbook held its place in the schools in New England until after the American Revolution. Those schools were one of the two or three most significant features of the English colonies.

leading motive for colonization was a desire to win a better home or more wealth, though late in the century, religious persecution in England played its part again in founding Pennsylvania. And so, from one cause or another, at the time of the "Revolution of 1688," the *English settlements in America* had expanded into a broad band of twelve great colonies, reaching from the Penobscot to the Savannah, with a total population of a quarter of a million.

These colonies all enjoyed the English Common Law, with

England's
success



its guarantees for jury trial, freedom of speech, and other personal liberties (such as were known in no other colonies for two hundred years), and they all possessed their own self-governing representative assemblies, modeled on the English Parliament.

Transfer of
English
freedom to
America

Moreover, not all England, but only *the more democratic part of English life, was transplanted to America*. No hereditary nobles or monarch or bishop ever made part of colonial America. And that part of English society which did come was *drawn toward still greater democracy by the presence here of unlimited free land*. When the Puritan gentlemen, who at first made up the governing body in Massachusetts colony, tried to fix wages for carpenters by law, as the gentry did in England (p. 366), the New England carpenters simply ceased to do carpenter work and became farmers. Thus wages rose, spite of aristocratic efforts to hold them down. Free land helped to maintain equality in industry, and so in politics; and the English colonies from the first began to diverge from the old home in the direction of even greater freedom.

Democratic
tendencies
intensified

In the next chapter we shall see how the story of American colonization merged with the story of European wars.

CHAPTER XII

DESPOTS AND WARS

I. THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV, 1643-1715

The
"Balance
of Power"

Toward the close of the "religious" Thirty Years' War, we saw Catholic France aid Protestant Germany and Holland to break the power of Catholic Austria and Spain. Statesmen had begun to make it their chief object to keep any one country from becoming too strong for its neighbors' safety; and these wars and alliances to destroy or to maintain the *Balance of Power* were the mark of the next hundred years — complicated soon by commercial greed for the control of the new worlds.

Threatened
by France

For long after 1648, France, more than any other country, endangered the unstable "Balance"! In 1643 the throne of that country fell to Louis XIV. During the early years of this reign, *Colbert*, the great minister of the king, introduced economy into the finances, encouraged new manufactures, removed many of the absurd tolls that vexed trade, built roads and canals, and watched zealously over the growth of New France in America. But in 1667 Louis began a series of wars that filled most of the next forty years. During that half-century, despotic France threatened freedom for the world, as Spain had done a century before, and as Hohenzollern Germany has recently been threatening it.

First series
of wars of
Louis XIV

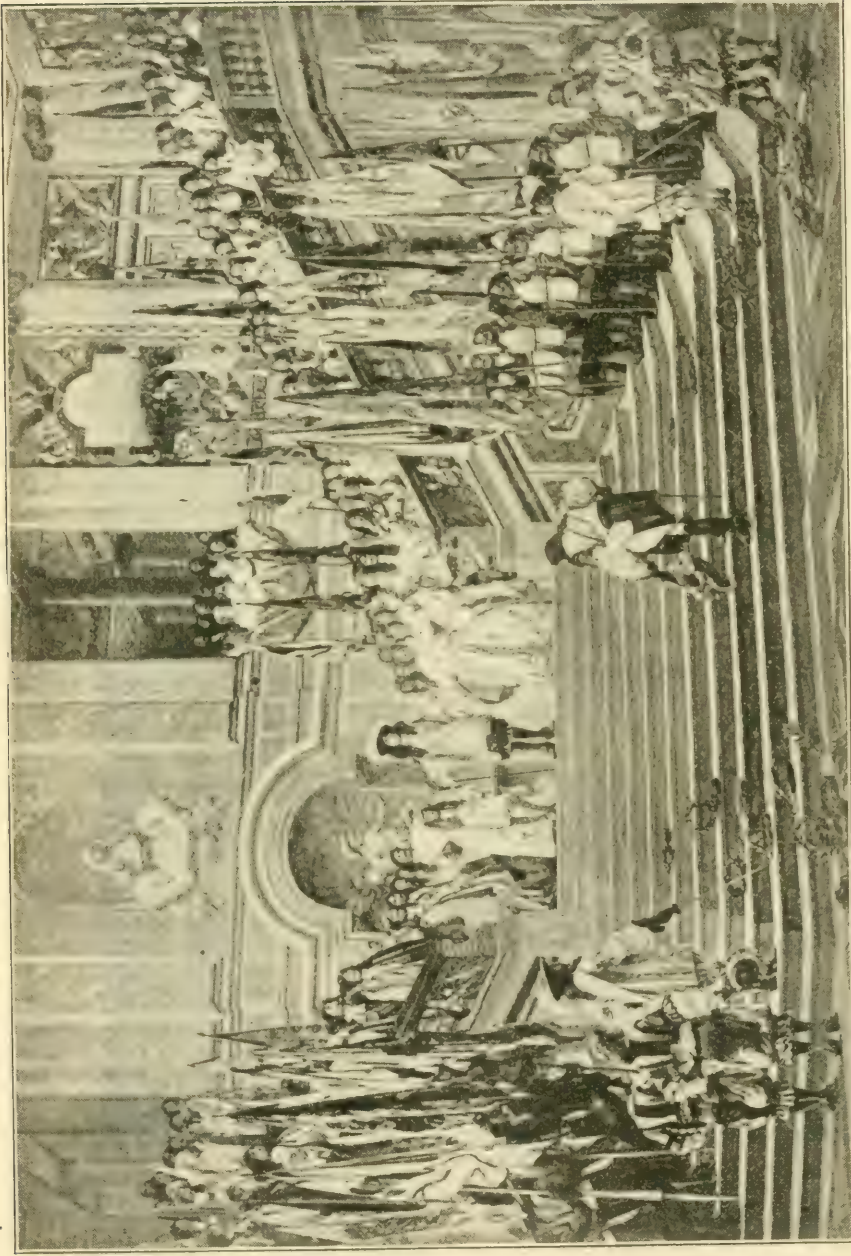
In the first twelve years of war, Louis sought to seize territory on his northeastern frontier. The Dutch Republic was his chief obstacle. The Dutch intrusted their government to William of Orange (afterward William III of England; p. 382). With grim determination William finally let in the North Sea to drive out the French armies. Meantime he toiled ceaselessly in building up against France an alliance of European powers, until Louis was compelled to accept peace with only slight gains of territory from the Spanish Netherlands.

PLATE LXIX



THE FRENCH IN HEIDELBERG, — a painting by Fedor Dietz. By the order of Louis, the French armies deliberately depopulated large districts. A striking passage of Macaulay tells the fate of one Rhine province: "The commander announced to near half a million human beings that he granted them *three days' grace*. . . . Soon the roads and fields were black with innumerable men, women, and children, fleeing from their homes. . . . Flames went up from every market place, every parish church, every county seat." Many of these fugitives finally came to America.

PLATE LXX



LOUIS XIV AND HIS COURT RECEIVING "THE GREAT CONDÉ" after his victory at Seneffe. — This Prince of Condé (1621–1686) must not be confused with his Huguenot ancestor of the preceding century. He was a typical French noble of the age, capable, fearless, ostentatious, domineering. He was a famous general from the age of twenty; and, at fifty-three, in his victory at Seneffe over William of Orange, he still was so daring a fighter that he had three horses killed under him.

During ten years of truce that followed, Louis continued to seize bits of territory along the Rhine — including the “free city” of Strassburg. But the important event of this period was his treatment of the Huguenots. In 1685 he revoked the Edict of Nantes, and tried to compel the Huguenots to accept Catholicism. Dragoons were quartered in the Huguenot districts, and terrible persecutions fell upon those who refused to abandon their faith. Protestantism did finally disappear from France. But, though Louis tried to prevent any heretic from leaving France alive, tens of thousands (perhaps 300,000 in all) escaped to Holland, Prussia, England, and America.¹ The effect on France corresponded in a measure to the effect of the expulsion of the Moriscoes (pp. 351-2) on Spain.

**The Edict
of Nantes
revoked**

A second series of wars began in 1689 (p. 383). As before, the French armies were invincible in the field; but, as before, William checked Louis by building up a general European alliance. England had now taken Holland's place as the center of opposition to French despotism. Louis fought mainly to get more Rhine territory; *but this time he kept no gains.* This war is known in American history as “King William's War.” *The struggle had widened from a mere European war into a Titanic conflict between France and England for world-empire.*

**Later wars
of Louis XIV**

Next, Louis eagerly seized a chance to put one of his grandsons on the vacant Spanish throne, as Philip V, exclaiming exultantly, “The Pyrenees no longer exist.” But Europe united against France and Spain in the “War of the Spanish Succession,” known in American history as “Queen Anne's War.” In this struggle, for the first time, success in the field lay with the Allies. The English *Marlborough* and the Hapsburg *Prince Eugene* won terrible victories over the armies of France, at *Blenheim* in Bavaria, and at *Ramillies*, *Oudenarde*, and *Malplaquet* in Belgium, the suffering battleground of the rival kings.

**The
“Spanish
Succession”**

¹ In America the Huguenots went mainly to the Carolinas; but some old Virginia families trace their origin to this immigration. In New York John Jay and Alexander Hamilton were both of Huguenot descent. And in Massachusetts the Huguenot influence is suggested by the names of Paul Revere, Peter Faneuil, and Governor Bowdoin.

Peace of Utrecht

The Peace of Utrecht (1713) left Philip king of Spain, but he had to renounce for himself and his heirs all claim upon the French throne. *France gained no territory in Europe, and in America she lost Newfoundland and Nova Scotia to England. England also acquired command of the Mediterranean, by securing from Spain the fortress of Gibraltar and the island of Minorca. Spain lost all her European possessions outside her own peninsula, ceding her Netherland provinces, the kingdom of Sicily and Naples, and the great Duchy of Milan in North Italy, to Austria.*

Exhaustion of France

Louis XIV dazzled the men of his age, and won the title of the Great King (*Grand Monarque*); but his wars exhausted France. At the close of his reign, the industry of France was declining under a crushing taxation, of which *more than half went merely to pay the interest on the debt he had created.* Intellectually, however, France was now the acknowledged leader of Europe. The court of Louis XIV was the model on which every court in Europe sought to form itself. French thought, French fashions, the French language, became the common property of all polite society.

French leadership in Europe**The age of despots**

"*I am the state*" is a famous saying ascribed to Louis XIV. Whether he said it or not, he might have done so with perfect truth. So might almost any monarch of his day, outside of England. Louis called the English Parliament "an intolerable evil." If England and Holland had not withstood his ambitious dreams of empire, free government would then have perished from the earth.

II. THE RISE OF RUSSIA

Russia and the Tartar Conquest of 1223

Early Russian history is a blank or a mass of legends. We know that before the year 900, there was a prince at Moscow ruling over the Russian Slavs from Novgorod to Kiev. Toward the close of the next century, Greek Christianity was introduced from Constantinople, and Greek civilization began slowly to make progress among the Russians. But about 1200, a great military leader appeared among the heathen Tartars who peopled

PLATE LXXI



ST. BASIL'S CHURCH, MOSCOW, — built in 1554-1557, during the reign of Ivan the Terrible. The structure was painted brilliantly in all the colors of the rainbow. It shows Oriental characteristics and some influence from the Byzantine architecture.

the vast plains to the East. Taking the title *Genghis Khan* (Lord of Lords), he organized the scattered nomad tribes into a terrible fighting machine, and set out to conquer the world. The ancient Scythian invasions were repeated upon a larger scale and with greater horrors. Genghis turned fertile countries into deserts and populous districts into tombs. In 1223 the rising Christian state of Russia was crushed, and the Mongol empire reached from Peking and the Indus to Crimea and the Dnieper.

The death of the Great Khan (1227) recalled his son to Asia; but ten years later the assault on Europe was renewed. Moscow was burned, and northern Russia became a tributary province. Again Western Europe was saved only by the death of a Mongol emperor. Soon after, the huge Tartar realm fell into fragments. But the whole Russian realm has felt ever since the baleful influence of the long Tartar dominion.

In 1480 a tributary Russian prince threw off the Tartar yoke, and one of his near successors, Ivan the Terrible, took the title *Tsar* (p. 219). Under this Ivan, by 1550, when the religious wars were beginning in Western Europe, Russia reached from the inland Caspian northward and westward over much of the vast eastern plain of Europe, stretching even into Asiatic Siberia. But it had no seacoast except on the ice-locked Arctic, and no touch with Western Europe. Tartars and Turks still shut it off from the Black Sea; the Swedes shut it from the Baltic (p. 355); and the Poles prevented any contact with Germany. The Tsars imitated the Tartar khans in their rule and court; and the Russian people were Asiatic in dress, manners, and thought.

Ivan the
Terrible

To make this Russia a *European Power* was the work of Peter the Great. Peter was a barbaric genius of tremendous energy, clear intellect, and ruthless will. Early in his reign, the young Tsar decided to learn more about the Western world he had admired at a distance. In Holland, as a workman in the navy yards, he studied shipbuilding. He visited most of the countries of the West, impressing all who met him with his insatiable voracity for information. He inspected cutleries, museums, manufactories, arsenals, departments of government, military

Peter the
Great.
1689-1725

organizations. He collected instruments and models, and gathered naval and military stores. He engaged choice artists, goldbeaters, architects, workmen, officers, and engineers, to return with him to Russia, by promises, not well kept, of great pay.

Peter
"European-
izes"
Russia

With these workmen Peter sought to introduce Western civilization into Russia. The manners of his people he reformed by edict. He himself cut off the Asiatic beards of his courtiers and clipped the bottoms of their long robes. Women were ordered to put aside their veils and come out of their Oriental seclusion. Peter "tried to Europeanize by Asiatic methods." He "civilized by the cudgel." *The upper classes did take on a European veneer. The masses remained Oriental.*

Expansion
toward the
open seas

Peter was more successful in starting Russia on her march toward the European seas, to get "windows to look out upon Europe." On the south, he himself made no permanent advance, despite a series of wars with Turkey; but he bequeathed his policy to his successors, and, from his day to the opening of the World War, Constantinople was a chief goal of Russian ambition. The "Baltic window" Peter himself secured, by victory over Charles XII of Sweden, winning the east coast of the Baltic *as far north as the Gulf of Finland*. This district had been colonized, three centuries before, by German nobles (map after 302), and German civilization was strongly implanted there. In this new territory Peter founded St. Petersburg, recently renamed *Petrograd*.

Peter
reaches the
Baltic

Later
growth to
1800

The next important acquisition of territory was under the Empress Elizabeth, daughter of Peter, who seized part of Finland from Sweden. Toward the close of the century, under Catherine II, Russia made great progress on the south along the Black Sea, and on the west at the expense of Poland (p. 401). This last change can be understood only in connection with the rise of Prussia.

Frederick of
Hohenzol-
lern, Elector
of Branden-
burg

III. PRUSSIA IN EUROPE — ENGLAND IN NEW WORLDS

Brandenburg was a little district in the northeast of Germany which became prominent in the twelfth century as a bulwark

PLATE LXXII



THE GREAT ELECTOR WELCOMING HUGUENOT REFUGEES, — a modern painting by Hugo Vogel.

against the Slavs. About 1200, the ruler became one of the Electors (p. 316) of the Empire. In 1415, the first line of Brandenburg Electors ran out; and *Frederick of Hohenzollern*, a petty count in the Alps (like the Hapsburgs a century and a half before), *bought* Brandenburg from the *Emperor*.

Shortly after 1600 the Elector of Brandenburg fell heir to two considerable principalities, — the duchy of Cleves on the extreme west of Germany, and the *duchy of Prussia outside the Empire* on the extreme east. (Prussia was the name of a Slav and Lett district which the Teutonic Knights had conquered in the fourteenth century from the heathen Slavs, and which they held as vassals of the king of Poland.)

The Hohen-
zollerns
gain
Prussia

Toward the close of the Thirty Years' War, Frederick William, "the Great Elector," came to the throne of Brandenburg — a coarse, cruel, treacherous, shrewd ruler. The Protestants were getting the upper hand in the war. Frederick William joined them, and, at the Peace of Westphalia he secured eastern Pomerania (p. 355), bringing *Brandenburg to the sea*. The "Great Elector" now crushed out all local assemblies of nobles in his provinces, and all local privileges. Then he built up an army among the largest and best in Europe, much more costly than his poor realms could well support. He was shrewd enough, however, to see the need of caring for the material welfare of his subjects, if they were to be able to support his selfish plans; and so *his long reign (1640-1688) marks the beginning of the boasted Hohenzollern policy of "good government."* He built roads and canals, drained marshes, encouraged better agriculture, and welcomed to his realms, with their manufactures, the Huguenot fugitives from France.

The
"Great
Elector"
and the
Thirty
Years' War

Paternal
despotism

Frederick, son and successor of the Great Elector, was besought by Austria to join the alliance against Louis XIV (p. 393). In reward for his aid, he then secured the Emperor's consent to his changing the title "Elector of Brandenburg" for the more stately one of "King in Prussia" (1701). The second king of Prussia, Frederick William I, was a rude "drill sergeant," memorable only as the stupid father of Frederick the Great. He did, however, expend what intellect he had, and what money

The kingly
title

he could wring from his subjects, in enlarging the Prussian army; and he had a curious passion for collecting *tall* soldiers from all over Europe.

Frederick II,
1740-1786

Frederick II ("the Great") ascended the Prussian throne in 1740. In the same year the Hapsburg Emperor, Charles VI, died without a male heir, and Frederick began his long reign by an unjust but profitable war. The Emperor Charles had secured solemn pledges from the powers of Europe, *including Prussia*, that his young daughter, Maria Theresa, should succeed to his Austrian possessions. But now, with his perfectly prepared army, *without having even declared war*, on a trumped-up claim, Frederick seized Silesia, an Austrian province.

This treacherous act was the signal for a general onslaught to divide the Austrian realms. Spain, France, Savoy, Bavaria, each hurried to snatch some morsel of the booty. But Maria Theresa displayed courage and ability, and she secured aid from Holland and England. This "War of the Austrian Succession" closed in 1748. Frederick had shown himself greedy and unscrupulous, but also the greatest general of the age. He kept Silesia. Prussia now reached down into the heart of Germany, and had become the great rival of Austria.

England
and France
rivals for
world
empire

Much more important, though less striking, was the contest outside Europe. In America a New England expedition captured the French fortress of Louisburg. In India the French leader, Dupleix, captured the English stations. The treaty of peace restored matters to their former position, both in America and Asia, but *the war made England and France feel more clearly than ever before that they were rivals for vast continents.* Whether Prussia or Austria were to possess Silesia, whether France or Austria were to hold the Netherlands, were questions wholly insignificant in comparison with the mightier question as to what race and what political ideas should hold the New Worlds.

The "Seven
Years'
War."
1756-1763

In 1756 Austria began a war of revenge. Maria Theresa had secured the alliance of Russia, Sweden, and even of her old enemy, France. Four great armies invaded Prussia from different directions, and Frederick's throne seemed to totter. His

PLATE LXXIII



THE LAST RALLY OF TIPPOO SAHIB. — the Indian leader in the final struggle against England in the eighteenth century. From a drawing by a French artist, Émile Bayard.

swift action and his military genius saved his country, in the victories of *Rossbach* and *Leuthen*. And the next year England entered the struggle as his ally. England and France had remained practically at war in America and India through the brief interval between the two European wars. Braddock's campaign in America (1754) took place during this interval; and now that France had changed to Austria's side, England saw no choice but to support Prussia.

In America this "Seven Years' War" is known as the "French and Indian War." The struggle was literally world-wide. Red men scalped one another by the Great Lakes of North America, and Black men fought in Senegal in Africa; while Frenchmen and Englishmen grappled in India as well as in Germany, and their fleets engaged on every sea. Still the European conflict in the main decided the wider results. William Pitt, the English minister, who was working to build up a great British empire, declared that in Germany he would conquer America from France. He did so. England furnished the funds, and her navy swept the seas. Frederick and Prussia, supported by English subsidies, furnished the troops and the generalship for the European battles. The striking figures of the struggle are (1) Pitt, the great English imperialist, the directing genius of the war; (2) Frederick of Prussia, the military genius, who won Pitt's victories in Germany; (3) Wolfe, who won French America from the great Montcalm; and (4) Clive, who established England's supremacy in India.

England
wins
America
and India
from France

The treaty of peace, in 1763, *left Europe without change*. But *in India* the French retained only a few unfortified trading posts. *In America*, England received Florida from Spain, and Canada and the eastern half of the Mississippi Valley from France. France ceded to Spain the western half of the Mississippi Valley, in compensation for the losses Spain had incurred as her ally; and, except for her West Indian islands, *she herself ceased to be an American power*. Spain still held South America and half North America; but her vast bulk was plainly decaying day by day. Holland's wide colonial empire, too, was in decline. *England stood forth as the leading world-power*.

The Peace
of 1763

Why Eng- land won America

The struggle in America had really been a war, not between Montcalm and Wolfe, but between two kinds of colonization. Man for man, the French settlers were more successful woodsmen and Indian fighters than their English rivals; but they could not build a state so well. They got a good start first; but, after a century of fostering care (p. 388) the French colonies did not grow. When the final conflict began, in 1754, France, with a home population four times that of England, had only one twentieth as many colonists in America as England had — 60,000 to about 1,200,000. Moreover, despite her heroic leaders, the mass of French colonists had too little political activity to care much what country they belonged to, so long as they were treated decently. Wolfe's one victory at Quebec settled the fate of the continent. The lack of political vitality and of individual enterprise in industry was the fatal weakness of New France. The opposite qualities made England successful. Says John Fiske: "It is to the self-government of England, and to no lesser cause, that we are to look for the secret of that boundless vitality which has given to men of English speech the uttermost parts of the earth for an inheritance."

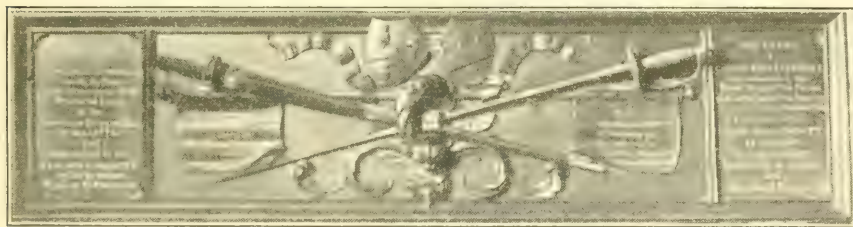
The American Revolution

The American Revolution is the next chapter in this series of wars. That war began because the English government unwisely insisted upon managing American affairs after the Americans were quite able to take care of themselves.¹ Its real importance, even to Europe, lay in the establishment of an independent American nation and in teaching England, after a while, to improve her system of colonial government. But at the time, France and Spain saw in the American Revolution a chance to revenge themselves upon England by helping the best part of her empire to break away.

¹ The English colonial system in America had not been cruel or tyrannical nor *seriously* hampering in industry. Indeed, on both the industrial and political side, it was vastly more liberal than was the colonial policy of any other country in that age. But after Canada fell to England (p. 399), so that the colonists in the English colonies no longer feared French conquest, they began to resent even the slight interference of the English government. The freest people of the age, they were ready and anxious for more freedom. Cf. West's *American People*, pp. 185-191.

England did lose most of her empire in America; but she came out of the war with gains as well as losses. She had been fighting, not America alone, but France, Spain, Holland, and America. Theodore Roosevelt has put finely the result and character of this wider struggle (*Gouverneur Morris*, 116):

"England, hemmed in by the ring of her foes, fronted them with a grand courage. . . . In America, alone, the tide ran too strong to be turned. But Holland was stripped of all her colonies; in the East, Sir Eyre Coote beat down Hyder Ali, and taught Moslem and Hindoo alike that they could not shake off the grasp of the iron hands that held India; Rodney won back for his country the supremacy of the ocean in that great sea-fight where he shattered the splendid French navy; and the long siege of Gibraltar [p. 394] closed with the crushing overthrow of the assailants. So, with bloody honor, England ended the most disastrous war she had ever waged."



CROSSED SWORDS of Colonel William Prescott and Captain John Linzee, who fought on opposite sides at Bunker Hill. A grandson of Prescott and a granddaughter of Linzee married, and their offspring mounted these heir-looks in this way "in token of international friendship and family alliance." Now in the rooms of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Just before the American Revolution began, Russia, Prussia, and Austria united to murder the old kingdom of Poland and to divide the carcass. The anarchy of Poland gave its neighbors excuse. The population consisted of about twelve million degraded serfs, and one hundred thousand selfish, oligarchic nobles. The latter constituted the government. They met in occasional Diets, and, when the throne became vacant, they elected the figurehead king. Unanimous consent was required for any vote in the Diet, — *each noble possessing the right of veto*.

"Parti-
tion" of
Poland

Under such conditions, the Powers of Europe had begun to play with Poland at will. Catherine II of Russia determined to seize a large part of the country. Frederick II persuaded

his old enemy, Austria, to join him in compelling Catherine to share the booty. The "First Partition," in 1772, pared off a rind about the heart. The Second and Third Partitions (1793, 1795), which "assassinated the kingdom," had not even the pretext of misgovernment in Poland. The Poles had undertaken sweeping reforms, and the nation made a gallant defense under its hero-leader Kosciusko; but the giant robbers wiped Poland off the map. *Russia gained far the greatest part of the territory, and she now bordered Germany on the east, as France did on the west.*

Frederick
"the
Great"
in peace

Frederick II's reign doubled the size of Prussia — but at the terrible cost of frontiers made only of fortresses and bayonets. Frederick had shown himself a greedy robber and a military genius. With brutal cynicism he avowed absolute freedom from moral principle where a question of Prussia's power was at stake. Success, he declared, justified any means. This faithlessness he practiced, as well as taught; and his success made this policy the creed of later Hohenzollerns.

But there was another side to Frederick's life, which, more properly than his wars or his diplomacy, earns him his title of "the Great." Most of his forty-six years' reign was passed in peace, and he proved a father to his people. The beneficent work of the Great Elector was taken up and carried forward vigorously. Prussia was transformed. Wealth and comfort increased by leaps, and the condition of even the serfs was improved. Unlike all the earlier Hohenzollerns, Frederick was also a patron of literature — though he admired only the artificial French style of the age — and he was himself an author.

Frederick is a type of the "crowned philosophers," or "benevolent despots," who sat upon the thrones of Europe in the latter half of the eighteenth century, just before the French Revolution. Under the influence of a new enlightened sentiment, government underwent a marvelous change. It was just as autocratic as before, — no more *by* the people than before, — but despots did try to govern *for* the people, not for themselves.

The
"benevo-
lent
despots"

PRUSSIA AT THE DEATH OF FREDERICK THE GREAT

SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 100

Prussia at the Accession of Frederick II.
Additions by Frederick II.

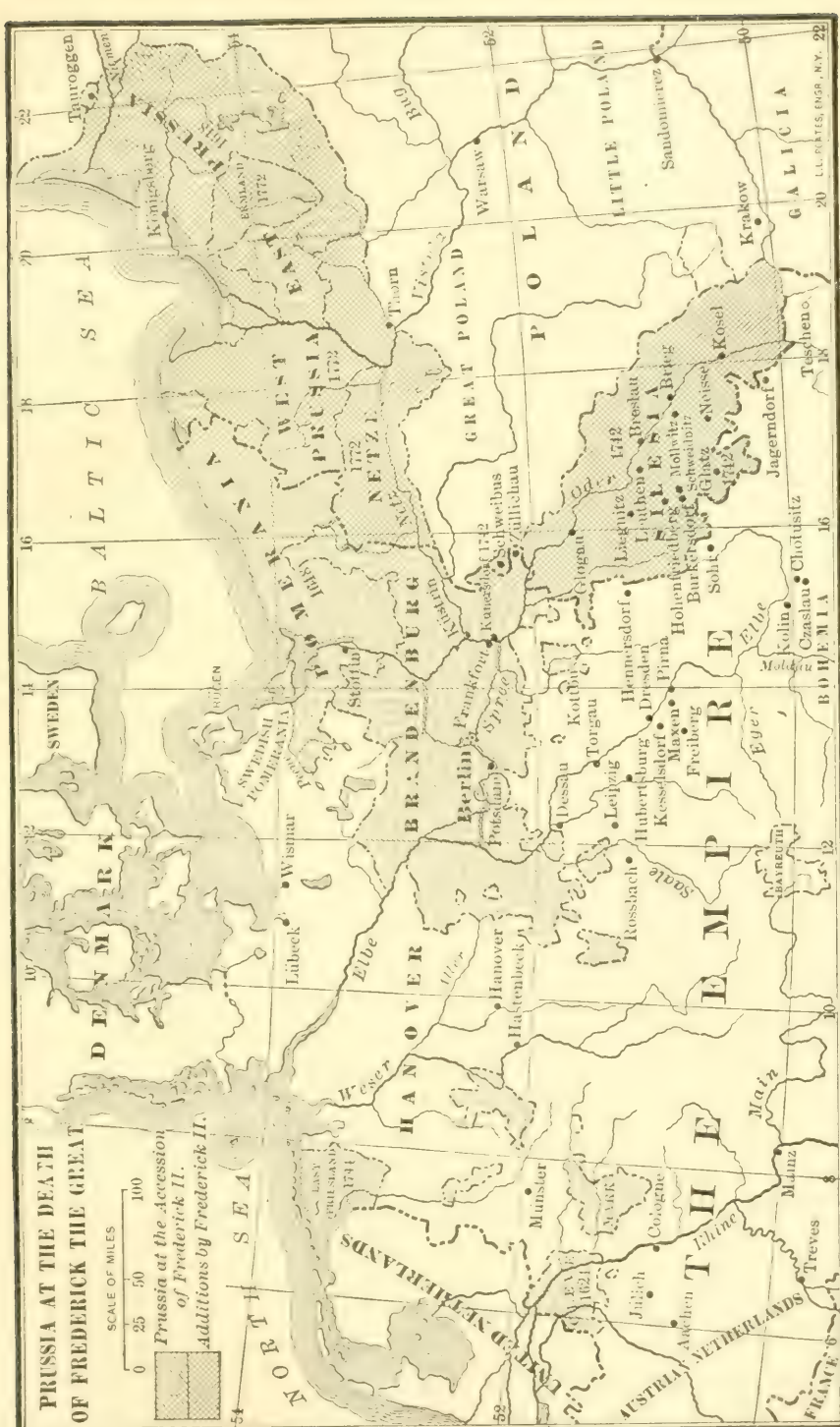
The map illustrates the territorial extent of Prussia in 1763. Key features include:
 - **Regions:** BRANDENBURG, WEST PRUSSIA, EAST PRUSSIA, GREAT POLAND, LITTLE POLAND, GALICIA, BOHEMIA, EMBURG, HANOVER, SWEDEN, DENMARK, AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS, and the NETHERLANDS.
 - **Cities and Towns:** Berlin, Potsdam, Königsberg, Thorn, Poznań, Wrocław, Kraków, Tarnobrzeg, Lublin, and many others.
 - **Geographical Features:** The Baltic Sea, North Sea, and major rivers like the Vistula, Oder, and Rhine.
 - **Legend:** A shaded box indicates 'Additions by Frederick II.'.

PRUSSIA AT THE DEATH OF FREDERICK THE GREAT

SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 100

Prussia at the Accession of Frederick II.
Additions by Frederick II.

The map illustrates the territorial changes in Prussia following the Seven Years' War. It shows the Baltic Sea to the north and east, and the North Sea to the west. Major rivers like the Elbe, Oder, and Vistula are depicted. The map is oriented with North at the top, and the title is prominently displayed at the top center.



PRUSSIA AT THE DEATH OF FREDERICK THE GREAT

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The map illustrates the territorial changes in Prussia following the Seven Years' War. It shows the Baltic Sea to the north and east, and the North Sea to the west. Major rivers like the Elbe, Oder, and Vistula are depicted. The map is oriented with North at the top, and the title is prominently displayed at the top center.

Frederick's genius and tireless energy accomplished something for a time; but *on the whole the monarchs made lamentable failures*. One man was powerless to lift the inert weight of a nation. The clergy and nobles, jealous for their privileges, opposed and thwarted the royal will. Except in England and France, there was no large middle class to supply friendly officials and sympathy. The kings, too, wished no participation by the people in the reforms: everything was to come from above. When the "benevolent despots" had to choose between benevolence and despotism they always chose despotism.

FURTHER READING upon the subject of the last three chapters may profitably be confined to the struggle for the New Worlds. The student should read Parkman's Works, especially his *Montcalm and Wolfe* and his *Half Century of Conflict*. The following biographies, too, are good: Wilson's *Clive*, Bradley's *Wolfe*, Morley's *Walpole*.

REVIEW EXERCISES

1. Fact Drills.
 - a. Dates with their significance: 1713, 1740, 1763, 1783.
 - b. List six important battles between 1500 and 1789.
2. Review by countries, with "catch-words," from 1500, or from some convenient event of about that date.
3. Make a brief paragraph statement for the period 1648-1787, to include the changes in territory and in the relative power of the different European states.

PART X—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

You must teach that the French Revolution was an unmitigated crime against God and man. — WILHELM II to teachers of history.

The Revolution was a creating force, even more than a destroying one.
—FREDERIC HARRISON.

CHAPTER XLII

FRANCE (AND EUROPE) BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

“Revolutions break through in the weakest places”

The “benevolent despots” had failed to reform society: now in France the people were to try for themselves. In that country the people were better off than anywhere else on the continent. They had risen far enough to see the possibility of rising further. But even there the social arrangements were atrocious. One per cent of the twenty-five million people were “privileged” drones (nobles and clergy), owning much more than half of all the wealth. Ninety-four per cent were cruelly oppressed workers, robbed of youth and life by crushing toil and insufficient food. Between these extremes came a small ambitious “middle class,” fairly prosperous and intelligent, but excluded from political influence, bearing a ruinous taxation, and bitterly discontented. This class (much larger than in any other continental country) was to furnish the ideas and most of the leaders for the Revolution.

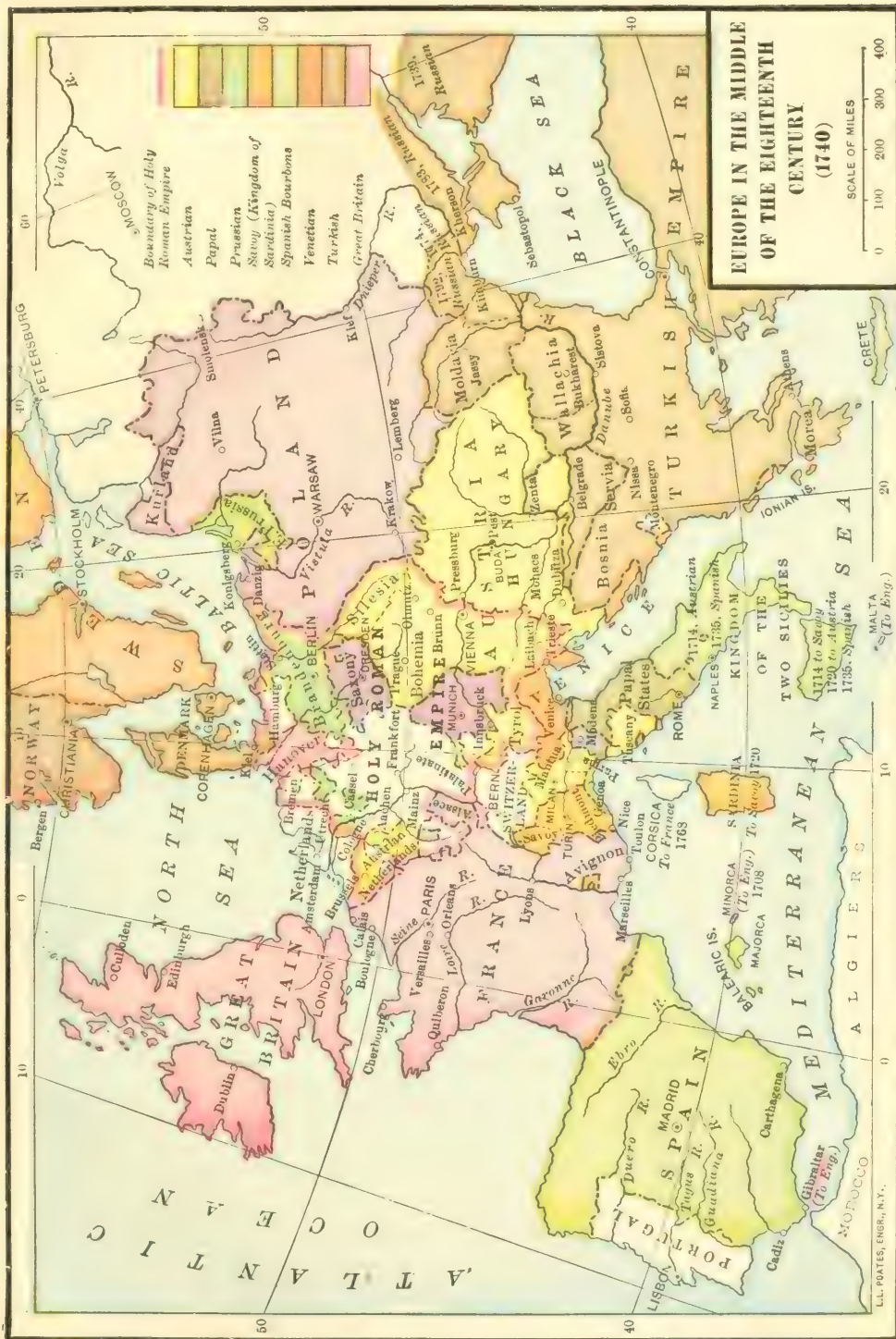
The middle class

The nobles and clergy

The privileged nobles no longer rendered service to society. They had become mere spenders and courtiers, — largely *absentee* landlords, not even living on their estates. The *higher* clergy (bishops and abbots) were the younger sons of the same noble families. They, too, squandered their immense revenues at court in idle luxury or vice, turning over their duties to subordinates on paltry pay. (The Revolution found the village priests mostly on the side of the people.)

The peasants

Over much of France the peasants lived in hideous misery. Famine was chronic in that fertile land, as in Russia in more



EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (1740)

recent years. *Taxation and feudal extortion discouraged farming.* A fourth of the land lay waste. Of the rest, the tillage was little better than a thousand years before, with a yield a third less than in England. And if crops failed in one province, starvation followed (because of poor roads, and high tolls, and poverty, and the government's carelessness) although neighboring provinces might possess abundance. One royal official describes how, even in ordinary times, "the children *very commonly die*" because of the coarse bread of bran and acorns on which they fed.

True, conditions varied greatly in different parts of France. In some districts the peasants were fairly prosperous, and as a whole they were far ahead of the peasants in Germany or Italy or Spain or Austria. They played a part in the Revolution *because they had already progressed far enough to feel discontent.*

Serfdom lingered in Alsace and Lorraine, — regions seized from Germany not long before (pp. 355, 393 ff.). Elsewhere the peasants had risen into villeinage somewhat like that in England before the uprising of 1381, four centuries before. Even when the peasant owned his garden spot, *he owned it subject to many ancient feudal obligations.* He could not sell it without paying for his lord's consent, or sell any of his crop except in the lord's market, with tolls for the privilege. Commonly, he could still grind his grain only at the lord's mill, leaving one sixteenth the flour, and he could bake only in the lord's oven, leaving a loaf each time in pay. Under no circumstances might he injure the rabbits or pigeons or deer that devoured his crop. On penalty of death, he might not carry a gun, even to kill wolves. He could not enter his own field to till it, when the pheasants were hatching or the rabbits were young. Year after year the crops were trampled by huntsmen or devoured by game.

Survivals of
serfdom

Added to all this was the frightful royal taxation. Louis XIV, we have seen, left France burdened with a huge war debt. The dissolute Louis XV wasted as much in vice as his predecessor had wasted in war, while much of the rest of the revenue was given away in pensions to unworthy favorites, or stolen by

Crushing
taxes

corrupt officials. (All receipts from taxation were subject to the king's order — as if they had been merely his private banking account. No report was made to the nation, but some facts leaked out. On the eve of the Revolution, three maiden aunts of the king were receiving yearly nearly half a million dollars in our values merely for *their food* — most of which amount, of course, went to enrich dishonest stewards.)

Emptied in these shameful ways, the treasury was filled in ways quite as shameful. The clergy were wholly exempt from taxation by law; and the nobles escaped from some taxes by law, from others by bribery and intimidation. Said the richest man in France frankly — “I *make arrangements* with the officials, and pay only what I wish.” Full payment was made only by those least able to pay.

Forced
labor

Various clumsy devices, too, made the *collection* needlessly burdensome. Two of the many direct taxes were especially offensive in this respect. (1) Roads and canals were built and kept up by forced unpaid labor (the *corvée*). At the call of an official the peasant must leave his own work for this, no matter how critical the time. (2) The main revenue came from a tax assessed upon peasant villages *only* and fixed each year *arbitrarily* by the government. On one occasion, an official wrote: “The people of this village are stout, and there are chicken feathers before the doors. The taxes here should be greatly increased next year.” So, too, if a villager lived in a better house than his neighbors, the officials made him pay a larger share of the common village tax. So the peasants concealed jealously what few comforts they had, and left their cottages in ruins.

“Rack”
taxation

It is estimated that a peasant paid half his income in *direct taxes* to the government. Feudal dues and church tithes raised these payments to four fifths his income. And from the remaining fifth, he had not only to support his family but also to pay various *indirect* taxes. The most famous of these was the *gabelle*, the tax upon salt,¹ which raised the price of salt to four, ten, or twenty times its first value. Every family was compelled

The salt tax

¹ The man who *sold* the salt paid the tax to the government. The man who bought salt had of course to pay back the tax in a higher price. A tax collected in this way is called an *indirect tax*.

by law to purchase from the government at least seven pounds a year for each member over seven years of age, and thousands of persons every year were hanged or sent to the galleys for trying to evade this law. (Even then, only a fifth of the amount collected ever reached the treasury. Like the tax on candles, fish, flour, and other necessities, the salt tax was "farmed" to collectors, who paid the government a certain amount and then took for their profit what they could get above that amount.)

Another class of vexatious taxes were the still remaining tolls on goods required *not only at the frontier* of France, but again and again, at the border of each province and even at the gate of each town. Fish, so great a necessity in a Catholic country, paid *thirteen times their first cost* in such tolls on their way to Paris from the coast.

Complex
tariffs

The government was a *centralized* despotism (p. 231). Directly about the king was a *Council of State*. Subject to the king's approval, it fixed taxes, drew up edicts, and ruled France. Its members were appointed by the king, and held office only at his pleasure. At the head of each province was a governor appointed by the king. Subject to the royal power, he was an unchecked despot. In the parish the mayor or syndic was sometimes chosen by the people, sometimes appointed by the governor; but in either case the governor could remove him at will. The parish assembly could not meet without the governor's permission, and it could not take any action by itself. Had the wind damaged the parish steeple? The parish might *petition* for permission to repair it, — at their own expense, of course. The governor would send the petition, with his recommendation, to the Council of State at Paris, and a reply might be expected only after long delays, when perhaps the damage was beyond repair.

The
govern-
ment

Personal liberty, too, was wholly at the mercy of this arbitrary government. Any man might be sent to prison without trial, merely by a "letter" with the royal seal. Not only were "*letters of the seal*" used to remove political offenders: they were

Arbitrary
imprison-
ment

also *sold*, to private men who wished to get rid of rivals. The government of Louis XV issued 150,000 such letters. Usually the imprisonments were for a few months; but sometimes the victim was virtually forgotten and left to die in prison. Arthur Young, an English traveler in France just before the Revolution, tells of an *Englishman* who had been kept in a French prison thirty years, although not even the government held a record of the reason.

An
inefficient
despotism

This despotic government was clumsy and inefficient. France was still a patchwork of territories which the kings had seized piece by piece. Each province had its own laws and customs, its own privileges and partial exemptions from certain taxes. The shadows of old local governments had lost their power *for action*, but remained powerful to *delay and obstruct* united action. Voltaire (p. 409) complained that in a journey one changed laws as often as he changed horses.

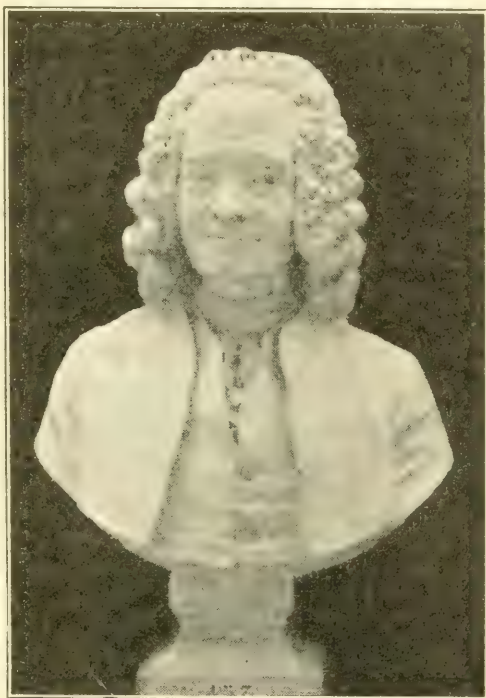
The spirit of
change

"A revolution requires not only abuses but also ideas." In France the combustibles were ready, and so were the men of ideas, to apply the match. Science had upset all old ideas about the world outside man. The telescope had proved that other planets like our earth revolved around the sun, and that myriads of other suns whirled through boundless space. The English *Newton* had shown how this vast universe is bound together by unvarying "laws." The microscope had revealed an undreamed-of world of minute life in air and earth and water all around us; and air, earth, water (and fire) themselves had changed their nature. The Ancients had taught that they were the "original elements" out of which everything else was made up. But the French *Lavoisier*, founder of modern chemistry, had lately decomposed water and air into gases, and shown that fire was a union of one of these gases with earthy carbon. Tradition and authority had been proved silly in the world of matter: perhaps they were not always right in the world of human society.

English writers, enjoying freedom of speech and of the press, had *begun* a revolt against the authority of the past; but their

speculations were now carried much farther by French writers, who quickly spread their influence over all Europe. *About 1750 there began an age of dazzling brilliancy in French literature and scholarship.* Never before had any country seen so many and so famous men of letters at one time. Of the scores, we can mention only two.

1. *Voltaire* had already won his fame in 1750, and he ruled as the intellectual monarch of Europe for thirty years more. He came from the middle class. As a young man, he had been imprisoned for libel by a "letter of the seal"; and a dissipated noble, angered by a witticism, had hired a band of ruffians to beat him nearly to death. Some years of exile he spent in England, where, he says, he "learned to think." He had biting satire, mocking wit, keen reasoning, and incisive, vigorous style. He railed at absentee bishops of licentious lives; he questioned the privileges of the nobles; and he exposed pitilessly the iniquity of the gabelle and of the "letters of the seal." The church seemed to him the chief foe to human progress; and in his invective against its abuses he sometimes confused it with Christianity itself. Most of his work was destructive; but there was no chance to build up in Europe until much of the old was torn down. Voltaire's lifelong exposure of the folly and wrong of religious persecution had much to do with creating the free atmosphere in which we live to-day. Says our American Lowell, "We owe half our liberty to that leering old mocker."



Voltaire
and his
associates

VOLTAIRE. — The bust by Houdon.

Rousseau
and
democracy

2. Voltaire and his fellows admired the constitutional monarchy of England; but they looked for reform from some enlightened despot, rather than from free government. One alone among them stood for democracy. This was *Rousseau*. He wrote much that was absurd about an ideal "state of nature" before men "invented governments"; but he taught, more forcefully than any man before him, the sovereignty of the whole people. His famous book (*The Social Contract*, 1762) opens with the words, "Man was born free, but he is now everywhere in chains"; and it argues passionately that it is man's right and duty to recover freedom. Rousseau's moral earnestness and enthusiasm made his doctrine almost a religion with his disciples.¹

Louis XVI

In 1774 the dissolute but able Louis XV was succeeded by the well-disposed but irresolute Louis XVI. This prince had a vague notion of what was right and a general desire to do it, but he lacked moral courage and energy. The queen was Marie Antoinette, daughter of the great Maria Theresa of Austria. She was young and high-spirited but ignorant and frivolous.

Marie
Antoinette

Turgot's
reforms

Reform began, and finally the Revolution began, because the royal treasury was bankrupt. Louis called to his aid *Turgot*, a successful Provincial governor already famous as a reformer. This officer now cut down ruthlessly the frivolous expenses of the court, and abolished the *corvée*, the remaining tolls on commerce, and the outgrown gild system. He *planned* more far-reaching reforms — to recast the whole system of taxes so that the rich should pay their share, and to abolish feudal dues. But the courtiers grumbled, and the queen cast black looks upon the reformer who interfered with her gayeties; and so after a few months the weak king dismissed the man "with a whole *pacific* Revolution in his head."

¹ Some years before the French Revolution began, the ideas, and even some of the phrases, of Rousseau began to have a powerful influence in America. Rousseau, however, drew these ideas to a great extent from John Locke and other English writers of the seventeenth century, and we cannot always tell whether reference to natural equality in a document of the American Revolution is affected by Rousseau or directly by the older English literature.

Still in 1776 Louis called to the helm Necker, a successful banker and another reformer. Necker was not a great statesman like Turgot, but he had liberal views and a good business head. His difficulties, however, were tremendously augmented in 1778 when Louis joined America against England (p. 400). The new expense of this war made it plainly impossible (on the old plans) to pay even the interest on the national debt. Necker suggested sweeping reform in taxation, along Turgot's lines; but the loud outcry of the nobles caused the king to dismiss him also from office (1781). *Necker, however, had let the nation know just how it was being plundered.* He had published a "report" on the finances, showing who paid the taxes and how much, and how the revenues were wasted. This paper was read eagerly and angrily by the middle class.

For a few years more the king's ministers kept the government and the court going by borrowing unscrupulously with no prospect of paying. But the time came when not even the king's promise could induce any one to lend. Taxes must yield more; and Louis learned at last the teaching of Turgot and Necker — that the only way to raise more money by taxes was to tax those who had more wherewith to pay. The privileged orders, however, had not learned this lesson. When the king begged, and finally ordered, them to give up their exemptions, they tried to evade the issue by arguing that the only authority with rightful power to impose *new* taxes was the States General. Unwittingly they had invoked a power that was to destroy them. The almost forgotten States General (p. 291) had not met since 1614. Now the middle class took up the cry for it until the name rang through France. In August of 1788 the king surrendered. He recalled Necker and called a States General.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Some material may be found in Robinson's *Readings*. Of modern accounts the student should read either Shailer Mathews' *French Revolution*, 1-110, or Mrs. Gardiner's *French Revolution*, 1-32.

CHAPTER XLIII

THE REVOLUTION IN PEACE

Election of
the States
General

For the election of the States General, the government marked France off into many districts. The nobles of each district came together and chose certain delegates from their "order"; the clergy did likewise; and all other taxpayers in the district were allowed to vote for an electoral college, which then chose delegates for their class — "the third estate."

There had been vehement discussion as to how the Estates General should vote. Anciently the three orders sat in separate "houses," each having one vote. Under that arrangement, nobles and clergy (representing only a fraction of the nation) would have two thirds the power. Accordingly there was a loud demand from the middle class, and from liberal nobles like Lafayette (recently returned from America), (1) that the third estate should have as many delegates as the other two orders combined, and (2) that the three estates should sit and act as one body. The king finally granted the "double representation" (300 nobles, 300 clergy, 600 of the third estate); but at once tried to make this concession worse than useless by requiring the three orders to act as three separate units.

One house
or three

May 5, 1789, Louis formally opened the States General at Versailles — the favorite royal residence, twelve miles southwest from Paris. His address made it plain that he expected the estates to grant him new taxes, and promptly disperse. After this address the nobles and clergy withdrew from the hall (as the king desired) and "organized" as separate chambers; but the third estate, with skillful generalship, insisted at first that it could not act while so many "*deputies of the nation*" were absent, and sent pressing invitations to the others to join in one assembly so as to get at work "to save

PLATE LXXIV



ABOVE. — FOUNTAINS IN THE VERSAILLES GARDENS.

BELOW. — THE PALACE OF VERSAILLES. — The palace and park (and the road from Paris) were built by Louis XIV at enormous expense.

France." This deadlock continued for many weeks. Finally (June 17) when further delay was plainly dangerous, the third estate voted that even without the "absent" delegates its members practically represented the nation. Accordingly, still inviting the other delegates to join, *it organized as a "National Assembly."* *This was a revolution. It changed a gathering of feudal "Estates" into an assembly representing the nation as one whole. Nothing of this kind had ever been seen before on the continent of Europe.*

The Na-
tional As-
sembly

Two days later, the National Assembly was joined by half the clergy and by a few nobles. But the next morning the Assembly found sentries at the doors of their hall, and carpenters within putting up staging, to prepare for a "royal session." Plainly the king was about to interfere. The delegates adjourned to a tennis court near by, and there with stern enthusiasm they unanimously took a memorable oath *never to separate until they had established a constitution.*¹

The Tennis
Court Oath,
June 20,
1789

As anticipated, however, Louis summoned the three estates to meet him and ordered them to organize as *separate bodies* and to vote certain *specified* reforms. When he left the hall, the nobles and higher clergy followed. *The new "National Assembly" kept their seats.* There was a moment of uncertainty; but Mirabeau, a noble who had abandoned his order, rose to remind the delegates of their great oath. The royal master of ceremonies, reëntering, asked haughtily, if they had not heard the king's command to disperse. "Yes," broke in Mirabeau's thunder; "but go tell your master that *we are here by the power of the people*, and that nothing but the power of bayonets shall drive us away." Then, on Mirabeau's motion, the Assembly decreed the inviolability of its members: "Infamous and guilty of capital crime is any person or court that shall dare pursue or arrest any of them, *on whose part soever the same be commanded.*"

Vacillation
of the king

The king's vacillation prevented conflict. Paris was rising in arms, and when the regular troops were ordered to fire on the

¹ The idea of a written constitution had come to France from America. See West's *Modern Progress*, 271.

mob, they rang their musket butts sullenly on the pavement, muttering, "We are the army of the Nation!"¹ The next day forty-seven nobles joined the Assembly, and in a week *the king ordered the rest to do so.*

Attempt at
counter-
revolution

The courtiers still planned a counter-revolution, and again won over the weak king. To overawe the Assembly (and probably to seize liberal leaders) he assembled near Paris several regiments of German and Swiss mercenaries, who could be depended upon to obey orders. On Mirabeau's motion the Assembly bluntly requested the king to remove this threat. Louis answered by dismissing and exiling Necker, who had opposed the court policy.

This was on the evening of July 11. About noon the next day, the news was whispered on the streets. *Camille Desmoulins*, a young journalist, pistol in hand leaped upon a table in one of the public gardens, exclaiming, "Necker is dismissed. It is a signal for a St. Bartholomew of patriots. To arms! To arms!" By night the streets bristled with barricades against the charge of the king's cavalry, and the crowds were sacking gunshops for arms. *Three regiments of the French Guards joined the rebels*, and two days later *the revolutionary forces attacked the Bastille.*

Fall of
the Bastille,
July 14

The Bastille was the great "state prison" for political offenders and victims of "letters of the seal." Thus it was a detested symbol of the "Old Régime." It had been used as an arsenal, and the rebels went to it at first only to demand arms. Refused admission and fired upon, they made a frantic attack. The fortress was virtually impregnable; but after some hours of wild onslaught, it surrendered to an almost unarmed force, — "taken," as Carlyle says, "like Jericho, by miraculous sound." The anniversary of its destruction is still celebrated in France as the birthday of political liberty, like our July 4.

This rising of Paris had saved the Assembly. The most hated of the courtiers fled from France in terror. The king visited

¹ Some of these regiments had served recently in America. Arthur Young (p. 408) had already declared. — "The American revolution has laid the foundations for another one in France."



FRENCH PEASANTS IN 1789, MARCHING TO MURDER "ARISTOCRATS." — A painting by a contemporary Russian artist, Paul Swedomsky.

Paris, sanctioned all that had been done, sent away his troops, *accepted the tricolor* (red, white, and blue), the badge of the Revolution, *as the national colors*, and recalled Necker.

The fall of the Bastille gave the signal for a brief mob-rule

Local
anarchy



FALL OF THE BASTILLE. — From a drawing by Prieur.

over all France. In towns the mobs demolished *local* “*bastilles*.” In the country the lower peasantry and bands of vagabonds plundered and demolished castles. Each district had its carnival of plunder. The king could not restore order, because the machinery of the government had collapsed; but everywhere the middle class organized to put down anarchy — and so really saved the Revolution. All over France the electoral colleges (p. 412) had met from time to time to keep in touch with their delegates or to send them instructions: and now, in the failure of the royal government, these representative bodies made themselves into local governments. Their first act in each district was to organize the middle-class inhabitants into armed patrols to restore order. (This militia became permanent — sanctioned soon by the National Assembly as “*National Guards*,” with Lafayette as supreme commander.)

Put down
by middle
class organi-
zation

Meantime, on the evening of *August 4*, the report of a committee on the disorders throughout the country had stirred the

August 4:
abolition of
privilege

Assembly deeply. A young noble, who had served in America with Lafayette, declared that the commotion was all due to the special privileges of his class, and, with impassioned oratory, he moved their instant abolition. One after another, in eager emulation, the liberal nobles followed, each proposing some sacrifice for his order, — game laws, dovecotes, tithes, exclusive right to military office, and a mass of sinecures and pensions, — and each proposal was promptly voted, with enthusiastic applause. The work was done hastily, but it was noble and necessary, and *it has never been undone*. *August 4 ended feudalism and established legal equality in France*. (This removal of abuses was one reason why anarchy was so easily suppressed.)

“ March of
the women,”
October 5,
1789

After these fruitful three months (May 5–August 4, 1789), the Assembly spent two years more in revolutionizing France and in drawing up a new constitution. Once more only it was endangered by the king. Early in October he again collected troops near Versailles, and at a military banquet (it was reported) young officers, to win the favor of court ladies, trampled upon the tricolor. The Paris mob (still loyal to the king) began to demand that Louis should come to Paris, to be near the Assembly and away from evil counselors. One riotous expedition to bring him to the capital was turned back by the National Guards; but thousands of the women of the market place then set out on a like attempt, in a wild, hungry,¹ haggard rout, followed by the riffraff of the city.

Lafayette permitted the movement to go on, until there came near being a terrible massacre at Versailles; but his tardy arrival, late at night, with twenty thousand National Guards, restored order. The king yielded to the demands of the crowd and to the advice of Lafayette; and the same day a strange procession escorted the royal family to Paris, — the mob dancing in wild joy along the road before the royal carriage, carrying on pikes the heads of some slain soldiers, and

¹ France was in the grip of famine when the States General met — due to a succession of poor harvests; and the general confusion had prevented a rapid recovery.

shouting jocularly, "Now we shall have bread, for we are bringing the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's little boy."

The king's brothers and some 150,000 nobles fled from France, — and soon were trying in foreign lands to stir up war against their country. Nearly a fourth of the Assembly, too, withdrew, declaring that that body was no longer free. And it is true that from this time mobs in the galleries and in the streets did sometimes intimidate conservative speakers. During the rest of its life, danger to the Assembly came from this source, not from the court.

The
"Emigrant"
nobles

One man in the Assembly never hesitated to oppose the mob, and often won it to his side. *Mirabeau* was the great man of the National Assembly. He was a profound statesman, with marvelous oratory and dauntless courage. (Unhappily his arrogance made him enemies among close associates: both Necker and Lafayette hated him.) Mirabeau thought the revolution had gone far enough, and he wished to preserve the remaining royal power so as to prevent anarchy. He urged the king to accept the new constitution in good faith and to surround himself with a liberal ministry acceptable to the Assembly. Indeed, as the mob grew more and more violent, Mirabeau wished Louis to leave Paris (where he was practically a prisoner) and appeal to the country provinces against the capital. But while the king hesitated, Mirabeau died suddenly, broken down by work and dissolute living.

Mirabeau

Then Louis decided to flee, not to French provinces, but to *Austria*, to raise war against the reforms of the Revolution. The plot failed. The royal family did get out of Paris (Louis disguised as a valet), but, through the king's indecision, they were recognized and brought back. Then followed another popular rising — with much excuse — to induce the Assembly to dethrone the king and set up a republic. Crowds of workingmen with women and children flocked out to the Champs de Mars (an open space near the city where the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille had just been celebrated) to sign a petition for this action. The municipal authorities forbade the gathering; and finally La-

Attempted
escape of
the king

Massacre of
the Champs
de Mars,
July 17,
1791

fayette's National Guards dispersed the jeering but unarmed mob with deadly volleys.

This massacre marks a sharp division between the working class and the middle class. For the time, the latter carried the day. September 14, 1791, Louis took a solemn oath to uphold the new constitution, and was restored to power.

**The Consti-
tution of
1791**

The Constitution of 1791 opened with a noble "Declaration of the Rights of Man" — suggested no doubt by the Bills of Rights in some of the American state constitutions. It proclaimed: (1) "Men are born equal *in rights*, and remain so"; (2) "Law is the expression of the will of all the people; every citizen has a right to share in making it; and it must be the same for all." And so on, through a number of provisions. Frenchmen were declared equal before the law, and equally eligible to public office. Hereditary titles and all special privileges were abolished. Jury trial, freedom of religion, and freedom of the press were established. The great Declaration has justified the boast of the Assembly — that it "shall serve as an everlasting war cry against oppressors."

**A constitu-
tional mon-
archy under
middle-class
control**

The Declaration of Rights cared for *personal* liberties. The arrangements concerning the government secured a very large amount of *political* liberty. (1) The *Central government* was made to consist of the king and a Legislative Assembly of *one* House elected anew once in two years. The king could not dissolve the Assembly, and his veto could be overridden if three successive legislatures so decided. (2) For *local government*, the historic "provinces," with their troublesome peculiar privileges, were swept away. France was divided into 83 "departments" of nearly equal size. Each "department," and each of the "communes" (villages or towns) of which it was made up, chose a council and an executive with very complete control over local affairs. (3) The *franchise* was given to all taxpayers, but the higher elective *offices* were open only to men of considerable wealth. This device of *graded property qualifications* secured control to the middle class. (The same device was common in America. None of our states then had manhood suffrage.)

Church and state had always been united in France, and they were now made even more so. The government assumed the duty of paying the clergy and keeping up the churches, and *clergy of all grades were made elective*. Unfortunately they were required to take an oath of fidelity to the constitution in a form repulsive to many sincere Catholics. Only four of the old bishops took the oath; and two thirds of the parish priests, including the most sincere and conscientious among them, were driven into opposition to the Revolution. The greatest error of the Assembly was in arraying religion against patriotism.

Church
and state

Great good, however, followed from one other feature of this arrangement. The nation took possession of the church lands — one fifth of all France — and sold them. In the outcome, the lands passed in small parcels into the hands of the peasantry and the middle class, and so laid the foundation for future prosperity. France became a land of small farmers, and the peasantry rose to a higher standard of comfort than such a class in Europe had ever known.

Peasant
land-owners

EXERCISE. — 1. Point out both direct and indirect ways in which the American Revolution helped prepare for the French Revolution. 2. Compare the methods of the middle class and the nobles of France in 1789 with those of corresponding classes in Russia in 1917. 3. Compare the “suspensive” veto (p. 418) with the American plan of getting rid of the old “absolute” veto. Which plan is in use to-day in the most free governments? 4. Can the franchise provision of the Constitution of 1791 be reconciled with the Declaration of Rights?

FOR FURTHER READING. — The best one-volume history of the Revolution is that by Shailer Mathews. Next comes Mrs. Gardiner's, more conservative and less interesting. There are excellent treatments in H. Morse Stephens' *Revolutionary Europe, 1789-1815*, and in Rose's *Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era*. The best of the larger works in English is H. Morse Stephens' *History of the French Revolution*. Carlyle's *French Revolution* remains the most powerful and vivid presentation, but it can be used to best advantage after some preliminary study upon the age. Among the biographies, the following are especially good: Belloc's *Danton*, Willert's *Mirabeau*, Blind's *Madam Roland*, and Morley's *Robespierre* (in *Miscellanies*, I). For fiction, Dickens' *Tale of Two Cities* and Victor Hugo's *Ninety-Three* are notable. Anderson's *Constitutions and Documents* contains interesting source material, like the Tennis Court Oath and many of the “decrees” referred to in this book.

CHAPTER XLIV

THE REVOLUTION IN WAR TIME

The Legisla-
tive Assem-
bly, Sep-
tember of
1791 to
April of
1792

Constitu-
tionalists

Girondists
and
Jacobins

Marat, Dan-
ton, Robes-
pierre

As the constitution directed, France at once chose a Legislative Assembly (September, 1791) of nearly 750 members. The great bulk of the nation had accepted the Revolution enthusiastically; but they considered it over, and they had not learned the need of ceaseless vigilance in politics. A very large part therefore took no part in the election. At first, however, about two thirds the delegates seemed to represent this part of the nation. Their leaders were known as *Constitutionalists* (supporters of the constitution as it stood). *Outside*¹ the Assembly, this party was led by Lafayette, now the most influential man in France.

A small minority of the nation would have preferred a more liberal constitution — with manhood franchise and perhaps a republican government. These few “radicals” won a third of the seats in the Assembly because of their organization in “Jacobin” clubs.² (No other party had any organization whatever.) The most prominent leaders of this group were called the *Girondists* (because several of them came from the Gironde Department). They were hot-headed, eloquent young men given to lofty speaking of fine sentiments, but not fit for swift and decisive action.

One small section of extreme Jacobins — only about a dozen, known as the *Mountain* because of their elevated seats at one side of the gathering — held men of a different stamp. Here sat Marat and Danton. Marat was a physician of eminence,

¹ The old Assembly had generously but unwisely made its delegates ineligible to the following one. Thus the Legislative Assembly was made up of inexperienced men.

² A radical club which sprang up in Paris in the fall of 1789 took this name from its meeting place. Soon it established daughter societies in other cities, and kept up close correspondence with them on political matters. These daughter clubs showed a disciplined obedience to the mother society.

with a sincere pity for the poor. He was jealous and suspicious, however, and became half-crazed under the strain of the Revolution. As early as 1789 his paper ("The Friend of the People") began to preach assassination of aristocrats. *Danton* was a lawyer of Paris. He became prominent early in the Jacobin clubs, and his rude eloquence and his control over the mob won him the name "the Mirabeau of the Market Place." He was a man of rugged and forceful nature and a born leader — with little patience for the fine speechifying of the Girondists where deeds were needed.

Outside the Assembly there was a third leader of this radical group. Before the Revolution, *Robespierre* had been a precise young lawyer in a provincial town. He had risen to a judgeship — the highest position he could ever expect to attain — but he had resigned his office *because he had conscientious scruples against imposing a death penalty upon a criminal*. He was an enthusiastic disciple of Rousseau. He was narrow, dull, envious, pedantic; but logical, incorruptible, sincere. In the preceding Assembly, Mirabeau had said of him, — "That man is dangerous; he will go far; *he believes every word he says.*"

The new Assembly, still with tremendous problems at home to solve, found itself at once threatened with foreign war. The emigrant nobles (p. 417), breathing vengeance, were gathering on the Rhine frontier under the protection of German princes, raising and drilling mercenary troops. They had secret sympathizers within France; and in the early winter a treasonable plot to betray to them the key to France, the great fortress of Strassburg, all but succeeded. The danger was real. The Assembly sternly and promptly condemned to death all Emigrants who should not return to France before a certain date; *but the king vetoed the decree.*

Moreover, the king's brother-in-law, the Emperor Leopold, had already sent to the sovereigns of Europe a circular note, calling for common action against the Revolution, inasmuch as the cause of Louis was "*the cause of kings.*" The Revolution stood for a new social order. Its cause was "the cause of peo-

ples"; and the kings felt that they must crush it before it spread.

The Assem-
bly accepts
war

The Legislative Assembly properly demanded of Leopold that he disperse the armies of the Emigrants and that he apologize for his statements. Leopold replied with a counter-demand for a change in the French government such as to secure Europe against the spread of revolution. This insolent attempt of a German potentate to dictate the policy of the French people aroused a natural tempest of scorn and wrath; and (April, 1792) France declared war.

The king's
vetoes

The French levies at once invaded Belgium (then an Austrian province, p. 394), but were rolled back in defeat. The German powers, however, were busy robbing Poland (p. 402), and a few weeks more for preparation were given France. During these weeks, the Assembly decreed the banishment of all priests who refused to take the oath to the constitution (many of whom were spies), and it provided for a camp of twenty thousand chosen patriots to guard the capital. *Louis vetoed both Acts.* By June, France was girdled with foes. The Empire, Prussia, and Savoy (a powerful state in North Italy) were in arms. Naples and Spain were soon to join. Sweden and Russia both offered to do so, if they were needed. In July a Prussian army, commanded by old officers of Frederick the Great, crossed the frontier; and two Austrian armies, one from the Netherlands and one from the upper Rhine, converged upon the same line of invasion. The French troops were outnumbered three to one. Worse still, the army was demoralized by the resignation of many officers *in the face of the enemy*, and still more by a justifiable suspicion that many of those remaining sympathized with the invaders. Within France, too, were royalist risings and plots; and the king was using his veto to prevent effective resistance. The queen — whom the Paris mob now styled "the Austrian Woman" — had even betrayed the French plan of campaign.

France
girdled
with foes

Brunswick's
Proclama-
tion:
July 25

Brunswick, the Prussian commander, counted upon a holiday march to Paris. July 25 he issued a famous proclamation declaring (1) that the allies entered France to restore Louis to his place, (2) that *all men taken with arms in their hands should be hanged*,

and (3) that, if Louis were injured, he would "inflict a memorable vengeance" by delivering up Paris to military execution.

This bluster, with its threat of Prussian "frightfulness," was fatal to the king. France rose in rage. But before the new troops marched to the front, *they insisted upon guarding against enemies in the rear*. Louis must not be left free to paralyze action, again, at some critical moment, by his veto. Constitution-
alists and Girondists alike stood by the king, but the Jacobin radicals carried their point by insurrection. Led by Danton, they forcibly displaced the middle-class municipal council of Paris with a new government; and this "Commune of Paris" prepared an attack upon the Tuileries for *August 10*. After confusing his guards with contradictory orders, the king and his family fled to the Assembly, leaving the faithful Swiss regiment to be massacred. Bloody from this slaughter, the rebels forced their way into the hall of the Assembly. Two thirds of the deputies had fled, and the "rump" of Girondists and Jacobins now decreed the deposition of Louis, and the immediate election, by *manhood suffrage*, of a Convention to frame a new government. Lafayette (commander of the French army on the Rhine) tried to lead his troops against Paris to restore the king. He found his army ready, instead, to arrest him; and so he fled to the Austrians — by whom he was cast into prison, to remain there until freed years later by Napoleon's victories.

The rising of August 10 had been caused by the fear of foreign invasion and of treason at home. Three weeks later the same causes led to one of the most terrible events in history. The "Commune of Paris," under Danton's leadership, had packed the prisons with three thousand "suspected" aristocrats. Then came the terrifying news of the shameful surrender of Longwy and Verdun, — two great frontier fortresses guarding the road to Paris. The new Paris volunteers hesitated to go to the front, lest the numerous prisoners recently arrested should now break out and avenge themselves upon the city. So, while Danton was hurrying recruits to meet Brunswick, the frenzied mob attacked the prisons, organized rude lynch courts, and on Sep-

August 10:
Louis
deposed

Surrender
of Verdun

And the
"September
Massacres"

tember 2, 3, and 4, massacred a thousand of the prisoners with only the shadow of a trial.

Whether the Jacobin leaders had a secret hand in *starting* these atrocious executions, we do not know. Certainly they did not try to stop them; but neither did any other body of persons. Says Carlyle: "Very desirable indeed that Paris had interfered, yet not unnatural that it stood looking on in stupor. Paris is in death-panic . . . gibbets at its door. Whosoever in Paris hath heart to front death finds it more pressing to do so fighting the Prussians than fighting the slayers of aristocrats." The Jacobins, however, did openly *accept* the massacres, when committed, as a useful means of terrifying the royalist plotters. When the Assembly talked of punishment, Danton excused the deed. "It was necessary to make our enemies afraid," he cried. ". . . Blast my memory, but let France be free."

Excused
by the
Jacobins

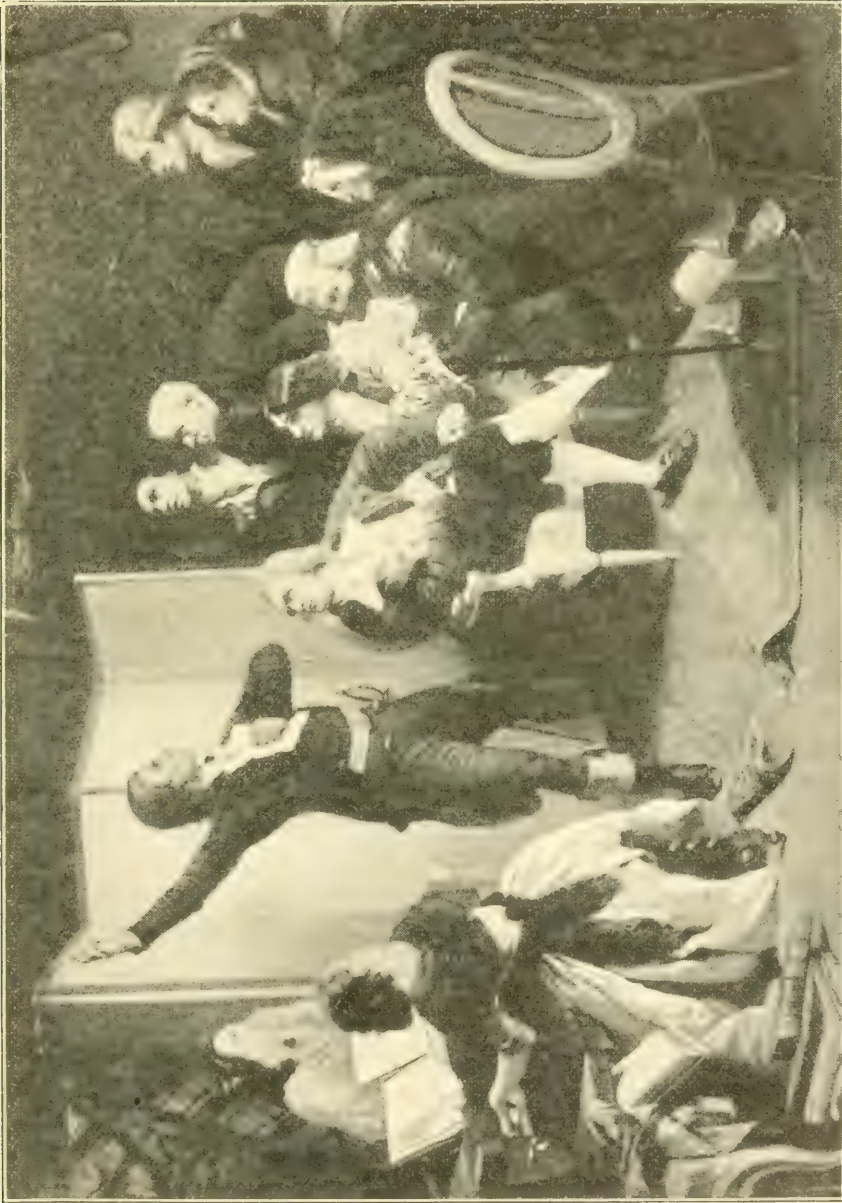
France "at
war with
kings"

Freed from internal peril, France turned upon her foes splendidly. September 20 the advancing Prussians were checked at *Valmy*; and November 9 the victory of *Jemmapes*, the first real pitched battle of the war, opened the Austrian Netherlands to French conquest. Another French army had already entered Germany, and a third had occupied Nice and Savoy. These successes of raw French volunteers over the veterans of Europe called forth an orgy of democratic enthusiasm. The new National Convention (September 21, 1792) became at once, in Danton's phrase, "a general committee of insurrection for all nations." It ordered a manifesto *in all languages*, offering the alliance of the French nation to all peoples who wished to recover their liberties; and French generals, entering a foreign country, were ordered "*to abolish serfdom, nobility, and all monopolies and privileges, and to aid in setting up a new government upon principles of popular sovereignty.*" One fiery orator flamed out, — "Despots march against us with fire and sword. We will bear against them Liberty!"

The Revolu-
tionary
propaganda

Starving and ragged, but *welcomed by the invaded peoples*, the French armies sowed over Europe the seed of civil and political liberty. *The Revolution was no longer merely French.* It took

PLATE LXXVI



ROUGET DE LISLE SINGING THE *Marseillaise* for the first time before the Mayor of Strassburg, at whose suggestion the young officer had just composed this greatest of all war songs (words and music) for the Strassburg volunteers (1792). The name comes from the accident that in Paris (which soon went wild over the song) it was sung first by a band of six hundred young volunteers just arrived from Marseilles.

on the zeal of a proselyting religion, and spread its principles by fire and sword.

France at large had not willed the deposition of Louis, but it now ratified that deed. When the new Convention met, the Constitutionalist party had disappeared. The great majority of the delegates were followers of the Girondists; but on *the Mountain* sat Robespierre, Danton, and Marat, with a somewhat larger following than before. *On its first afternoon* the Convention declared monarchy abolished, and enthusiastically established "The French Republic, One and Indivisible."

The First
French
Republic

The radicals were bent also upon punishing Louis. They were convinced of his treason, and they wished to make reconciliation with the old order of things impossible. Said Danton: "The allied kings march against us. Let us hurl at their feet, as the gage of battle, the head of a king." The Girondists wished to save Louis' life, but they were intimidated by the galleries; and "Louis Capet" was condemned to death for "treason to the nation."

Execution of
the king

Then the Convention proposed a new written constitution for the Republic. This document was extremely democratic. It swept away all the checks of indirect elections and property qualifications, and made all citizens "equally sovereign." Further, it made all acts of the legislature subject to a "referendum." This *Constitution of the Year I*¹ was itself submitted to such a referendum, and *was adopted by the nation*. No country had ever had so democratic a constitution. *Nor had any great nation ever before adopted its government by direct vote of the people.*

Constitution
of the
Year I

The constitution, however, never went into operation. The Convention suspended it, declaring that France was in danger, and that the government must be left free from constitutional checks until war was over. (This was one of the first demonstrations in history of the fundamental truth that war is a despot's game, and that democracies can play it successfully only by ceasing, for the time, at least, to be democracies.)

¹ The Convention established for the time a new Revolutionary calendar, — a good topic for a student to report upon.

Treason and
dissension

France was indeed in danger. The execution of the king was one factor in deciding England, Spain, Holland, Naples, and Portugal to join the war against France, and it offended many French patriots. Dumouriez, an able but unscrupulous general, who had succeeded Lafayette as the chief military leader, tried to play traitor, in the spring of 1793, by surrendering Belgian fortresses to the Austrians and by leading his army to Paris to restore the monarchy. *His troops refused to follow him*, and he fled to the enemy; but Belgium was lost for a time and once more the frontier was open to attack.

The Girondists give
way to the
Jacobins

Ever since the Convention met, dissension had threatened between the Gironde majority and the Mountain. The Mountain was supported by the masses of Paris; but, outside the capital, the Girondists were much the stronger, and they now took the moment of foreign danger to press the quarrel to a head. They accused Marat of stirring up the September massacres, and persuaded the Convention to order his trial. Then they were mad enough to charge Danton with *royalist* conspiracy.

Danton, who was straining his mighty strength to send reinforcements to the front, pleaded at first for union; but, when this proved vain, he turned savagely upon his assailants. "You were right," he cried to his friends on the Mountain. "There is no peace possible with these men. Let it be war, then. They will not save the Republic with us. It shall be saved without them; saved in spite of them."

And while the Girondists debated, the Mountain acted. It was weak in the Convention, but it was supreme in the galleries and in the streets and in the Commune of Paris. The Commune, which had carried the Revolution of August 10 against the Legislative Assembly, now marched its forces against the Convention (June 2, 1793) and held it prisoner until it passed a decree imprisoning thirty of the leading Girondists. Others of that party fled, and *the Jacobin Mountain was left in power*.

Gironde
rebellion
and foreign
invasion

Fugitive Girondists now aroused the provinces against the Jacobin capital, and gathered armies at Marseilles, Bordeaux, Caën. Lyons, the second city in France, even raised the white flag of the monarchy, and opened its gates to an Austrian army;

and the great port of Toulon admitted an English fleet. Elsewhere, too, royalist revolt reared its head. Especially in the remote province of Vendée (in ancient Brittany), the simple, half-savage peasants were still slavishly devoted to king, priest, and hereditary lord, and they rose now in wild rebellion against the Republic. The Convention, with Paris and a score of the central Departments, faced the other three fourths of France as well as the rest of Europe.

So far, the Revolutionists had been afraid of a real executive, as a danger to freedom; but these new perils forced the Convention to intrust power to a despotic "Committee of Public Safety," with twelve members, — all from the Mountain. The Convention made all other national committees and officers the servants of this great Committee, and ordered even the municipal officials over France to give it implicit obedience.

And the
Committee
of Public
Safety

The Committee were not trained administrators, but they were men of practical business sagacity and of tremendous energy, — such men as a revolution must finally toss to the top. In the war office, *Carnot* "organized victory"; beside him, in the treasury, labored *Cambon*, with his stern motto, "War to the manorhouse: peace to the hut"; while a group of such men as *Robespierre* and *St. Just* sought to direct the Revolution so as to refashion France according to new ideals of democracy and of welfare for the common man.

Nearly a hundred "Deputies on Mission" were sent out from the Convention to all parts of France to enforce obedience to the Committee. They reported every ten days to the Committee; but, subject to its approval, they exercised despotic power, — replacing civil authorities at will, seizing money or supplies for the national use, imprisoning and condemning to death. Never has a despotism been more efficient. In October Lyons was captured and ordered *razed to the ground*. Toulon was taken, despite English aid, and punished sternly. Other centers of revolt, paralyzed with fear, yielded. Order and union were restored. Before the year closed, French armies had taken the offensive once more on all frontiers.

Order,
union, and
victory

**The "Long
Terror"**

To secure this union, the Committee had used terrible means. Early in September of 1793 it adopted "Terror" as a deliberate policy. This "Long Terror" was a very different thing from the "Short Terror" of the mob, a year before. The Paris prisons were crowded again with "Suspects"; and *each day* the Revolutionary tribunal, after farcical trials, sent batches of them to the guillotine.¹ Among the victims were the queen, many aristocrats, and also many Constitutionalists and Girondists — heroes of 1791 and 1792. In some of the revolted districts, too, submission was followed by horrible executions; and at Nantes the cruelty of *Carrier*, the Deputy on Mission, half-crazed with blood, inflicted upon the Revolution an indelible stain. Over much of France, to be sure, the Terror was only a name, and the rule of the Deputies on Mission was supported ardently by the people. Still, in all, some fifteen thousand executions took place during the fourteen months of the Terror — one of many horrible blots on human history.

**Violence
only an inci-
dent due to
foreign peril**

At the same time, this bloodshed is not the significant thing about the Revolution. Indeed it was not the product of the Revolution itself, but of foreign war. Literature has been filled with hysterics about it. It is well for us to shudder — but there is no danger that we shall not, for those who suffered were *the few* who "knew how to shriek." The danger is that we forget the relief to the *dumb multitudes* who had endured worse tortures for centuries. And if the Convention destroyed much, it built up vastly more. The grim, silent, tense-browed men of the Committee worked eighteen hours out of every twenty-four. Daily, they carried their lives in their hands; and so they worked swiftly and ruthlessly. But while Carnot, "Organizer of Victory," was creating the splendid army that saved liberty from despots, his associates were laying the foundations for a new and better society. Mainly on their proposals, the Convention made satisfactory provision for the public debt that had crushed the old monarchy. It adopted *the beginning* of a simple and

**Positive
reform**

¹ Just before the Revolution a humane Dr. Guillotin had invented a new device to behead criminals — a heavy knife sliding down swiftly between upright supports. This "guillotine" was much more merciful than the older practice of beheading with an ax in a headsman's hands.

just code of laws. It abolished imprisonment for debt and gave property rights to women, forty years ahead of England or America. It accepted the metric system of weights and measures, abolished slavery in French colonies, instituted the first Normal School, the Polytechnic School of France, the Conservatory of France, the famous Institute of France, and the National Library, and *planned* also a comprehensive system of public instruction,¹ the improvement of the hospitals and of the prisons, and the reform of youthful criminals.

But now the Jacobins broke into factions.

1. The Paris Commune closed all Christian worship in the capital, substituting a ribald "worship of reason." These extremists were led by the coarse *Hébert*, who clamored for more blood — wholesale execution of all defenders of private property. Robespierre denounced Hébert — who then tried once more to raise the Paris mob against the Assembly. This time the Assembly won; and Robespierre sent Hébert and his friends to the guillotine (March, 1794).

Jacobin
factions
devour one
another

2. At the other extreme, Danton had been urging for months that the Terror was no longer needed in a victorious and tranquil France. In April, Robespierre accused him of conspiracy and sent him to the guillotine.

For the next three months, Robespierre seemed sole master. He reopened the churches, and offset Hébert's Festival to Reason by making the Convention celebrate a solemn "Festival to the Supreme Being."²

Then he hurried his plans to create a new France — which he imagined could be done quickly by education. "We must entirely refashion a people whom we wish to make free," said his decree, — "destroy its prejudices, alter its habits, root up its vices, purify its desires. The state, therefore, must lay hold of every human being at its birth and direct its education with powerful hand." One of his ardent disciples exclaimed that he

Robes-
pierre's
dictatorship

¹ Said Danton, "Next to bread, education is the first need of the people."

² Robespierre was not a Christian, but a deist, like Voltaire: that is, he believed in an all-good creator revealed in nature.

would blow out his own brains at once if he did not believe it possible by "a school of the nation" to remodel the French people so that it should possess "the happiness of virtue, of moderation, of comfort — the happiness that springs from the enjoyment of the necessary without the superfluous. . . . The luxury of a cabin and of a field tilled by your own hands, a cart, a thatched roof, — such is happiness."

And his fall

To clear the ground for putting these fine theories into practice, Robespierre intensified the Terror, until the number of executions rose to two hundred a week in Paris. Leaders in the Convention trembled for their own safety, and at last they turned savagely upon the monster. On July 27, 1794, when Robespierre rose to speak, he was greeted by cries of "Down with the tyrant!" Astounded, he stammered confusedly; and a delegate cried, — "See, the blood of Danton chokes him!" Quickly he was tried and guillotined, with a hundred adherents.

The
Directory,
1795-1799

The Terror now ended, and in the following March (1795) the survivors of the delegates expelled two years before were readmitted to the Convention. The populace was disarmed, and the National Guards were reorganized, to consist again of the propertied classes only. The restored middle-class supremacy was then confirmed by a new "Constitution of the Year III." The government so established is called *The Directory*. This was the name of the new *executive* of the Republic, — a committee of five, chosen by the legislature. The legislature became a two-house body, elected by voters with property qualifications.

"A whiff of
grapeshot"

A popular vote ratified this constitution; but, at the last moment, the expiring Convention decreed that its members should sit in the new legislature without submitting to reelection. Secret royalists took advantage of this unpopular act to stir up the Paris mob against the government, and the revolt was joined even by 20,000 National Guards. The Directory was in panic. But it had four thousand regular troops, and it happened to hit upon a brilliant young officer to command them. That officer posted cannon about the approaches to the Conven-

tion hall, and mowed down the attacking columns with "a whiff of grapeshot" (October 5, 1795).

The Directory remained in power four years more; but the chief interest for this period centers in the rise of the officer who had saved it, — and whose name was Napoleon Bonaparte.

EXERCISE. — Discuss parallels and contrasts between the course of the French Revolution and that of the Russian Revolution of 1917. Do you recall any event in English history similar to the self-perpetuating act of the Convention at its close?

CHAPTER XLV

BONAPARTE AND THE CONSULATE, 1795-1804

Expansion
before
Bonaparte

France had already made great gains of territory. On the northeast, *Belgium had been annexed, with the vote of its people.* *Nice and Savoy*, on the southeast, had been added, in like manner. *The eastern frontier had been moved to the Rhine.* *Holland* had been converted into a dependent ally as the "Batavian Republic," with a constitution molded on that of France. Prussia, Spain, and most of the small states had withdrawn from the war. Only England, Austria, and Sardinia kept the field.

Bonaparte
in Italy

The Directory determined to attack Austria vigorously. Two splendid armies were sent into Germany, and a small, ill-supplied force in Italy was put under the command of Bonaparte. The genius of the young general (then twenty-seven years old) made the Italian campaign the decisive factor in the war. By swift marches he separated his enemies, won battle after battle, and by July was master of Italy. During the next year four fresh Austrian armies, each larger than Bonaparte's, were sent across the Alps, only to meet destruction at his hands; and in 1797 he dictated the *Peace of Campo Formio*, which for a time closed the war on the continent.

To the Italians, Bonaparte posed at first as a deliverer, with magnificent promises of a free national life. He did sweep away serfdom, and, in place of old oligarchic states, set up some "republics"; but at the same time he perfidiously tricked the ancient state of Venice into war, and afterward coolly traded it away to Austria. Upon even the most friendly states, too, he levied huge contributions for the coffers of France and the private pockets of the Directory and to enrich his soldiers. Works of art, too, and choice manuscripts he ravished from Italian libraries and galleries, and sent to Paris, to gratify French vanity; and when the Italians rose against this spoliation, he stamped out the revolts with deliberate "frightfulness."

The Italian campaigns first showed Napoleon Bonaparte to the world. He was an Italian, — born in Corsica in 1769. In that same year, Corsica became a possession of France. The boy passed through a French military school, and when the Revolution began he was a junior lieutenant of artillery. The war gave him opportunity. He had distinguished himself at the capture of Toulon (p. 427); and his brilliant defense of the Directory against the rising of 1795 won him the command of the "Army of Italy."

Bonaparte was one of the three or four supreme military geniuses of history. He was also one of the greatest of civil rulers. He had profound insight, a marvelous memory, and tireless energy. He was a "terrible worker," with wonderful grasp of details, — so that he could recall the smallest features of geography where a campaign was to take place, or could name the man

best suited for office in any one of a multitude of obscure towns. He was not insensible to generous feeling; but, like Frederick II of Prussia, he was utterly unscrupulous and deliberately rejected all claims of morality. "Morality," said he, "has nothing to do with such a man as I am." Perfidy and cruelty, when they suited his ends, he used as calmly as appeals to honor and patriotism.

His generalship lay largely in unprecedented rapidity of move-

Character of
Napoleon
Bonaparte



BONAPARTE AT ARCOLA. — The French troops were breaking at a critical point, when the young general forced his way to the front, caught a falling standard, and by his presence, restored the fortune of the day. After the painting by Gros.

ment, and in massing his troops against some one weak point of an enemy. "Our general," said his soldiers, "wins his victories with our legs." In early life he may have been a sincere republican; but he hated anarchy and disorder, and, before his campaign in Italy was over, he had begun to plan to make himself ruler of France. He worked systematically to transform the French people's earlier ardor for liberty into a passion for military glory and plunder.

Bonaparte in Egypt

England alone continued the war against France; and in 1798 Bonaparte persuaded the Directory to let him attack

Egypt, as a step toward attacking England in India. He won a series of brilliant battles in Egypt; but suddenly his fleet was annihilated by the English under *Nelson*, in the *Battle of the Nile*, and his gorgeous dreams of Oriental empire faded away.

Escape to France



BONAPARTE DISSOLVES THE FRENCH ASSEMBLY. — From a contemporary print.

Without hesitation Bonaparte deserted his doomed army, and escaped to France, where he saw new opportunities. War on the continent had been renewed. In 1798 England had succeeded in drawing Russia and Austria into another coalition; and

so far, in the new war, the campaigns had gone against France. Bonaparte's failure in distant Egypt was not comprehended, and the French people welcomed him as a savior.

Moreover, *the Directory had proven disgracefully corrupt.*



**EUROPE AT THE PEACE
OF AMIENS
(1802)**

SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400

Each of three years in succession — 1797, 1798, 1799 — the elections had gone against it; but it had kept itself in power by a series of *coups d'état*, or arbitrary interferences with the result of the voting. Now Bonaparte used a *coup d'état*¹ against it. His troops purged the legislature of members hostile to his plan; and a Rump, made up of Bonaparte's adherents, abolished the Directory and elected Bonaparte and two others as *consuls*, intrusting to them the preparation of a new constitution. "Now," said the peasantry, "we shall have peace, thanks to God and to Bonaparte"; and by a vote of some three million to fifteen hundred, the French people accepted the constitution that virtually made Bonaparte dictator.

Overthrow
of the
Directory:
Bonaparte,
First Consul

Bonaparte's first work as consul was to crush foreign foes. In 1800 he won a dazzling victory over the Austrians at *Marengo* in Italy, and General Moreau crushed another Austrian army at *Hohenlinden* in Bavaria. One by one the allies laid down their arms, and in 1802 the *Peace of Amiens* won peace even from England — which had been in arms against France since 1793.

By the "Constitution of the Year VIII" (1800) Napoleon, as First Consul, was really a dictator. The legislature was little more than a debating society, and could not even propose a law without his consent. The government was said to "rest on manhood suffrage," but only as "*refined* by successive filtrations." The 5,000,000 adult male citizens chose 500,000 "Communal Notables"; these chose 50,000 "Departmental Notables"; and these chose 5000 "National Notables." But all these elections elected nobody. The executive was to *appoint* communal officers from the 500,000, departmental officers from the 50,000, and members of the legislature from the 5000.

Centraliza-
tion intensi-
fied

Thus *local* administration was once more highly centralized,

¹ Literally, a "stroke of state." This is the name given in France to infractions of the constitution by some part of the government through the use of force. Happily the thing itself has been so unknown to English history that the English language has to borrow the French name. The attempt of Charles I to seize the five members (p. 376) was something of the sort. The coming century was to see many a *coup d'état* in France; and like phenomena have been common in other European countries.

so that, independent of Bonaparte's will, there did not exist anywhere the authority to light or repair the streets of the meanest village.¹

**Restoration
of order**

Within France Bonaparte used his vast authority to restore order and heal strife. Royalist and Jacobin were welcomed to public employment and to favor; and a hundred and fifty thousand exiles, of the best blood and brain of France, returned, to reinforce the citizen body. Wages rose; the French people built up a vast material prosperity; and the burden of taxes was distributed with fair justice upon all classes. Political liberty was gone; but the economic gains of the Revolution were preserved. An agreement with the pope ("the Concordat") reconciled the Catholic church to the state. All bishops were replaced by new ones *appointed* by Napoleon and consecrated by the pope. The church became Roman again, but it was supported and controlled by the state. The reform work of the great Convention of '93 had been dropped by the Directory. Some parts of it were now taken up again. Public education was organized (on paper); corruption and extravagance in the government gave way to order and efficiency; law was simplified, and justice was made cheaper and easier to secure.

Reforms

**The "Code
Napoléon"**

This last work was the most enduring and beneficent of all. The Convention of '93 had begun to reform the outgrown absurdities of the confused mass of French laws. The First Consul now completed the task. A commission of great lawyers, working under his direction and inspiration, swiftly reduced the vast chaos of old laws to a marvelously compact, simple, symmetrical code. This body of law included the new principles of equality born of the Revolution. It soon became the basis of law for practically all Europe, except England, Russia, and Turkey. From Spain it spread to all Spanish America, and it lies at the foundation of the law of the State of Louisiana.

¹ This new administration was vigorous and fearless; and under Napoleon's energy and genius, it conferred upon France great and rapid benefits. But, in the long run, *the result was to be unspeakably disastrous*. The chance for Frenchmen to train themselves at their own gates in the duties and responsibilities of freemen, by sharing in the local government, was lost.

Napoleon himself declared, after his overthrow, "Waterloo will wipe out the memory of my forty victories; but that which nothing can wipe away is my Civil Code. That will live forever."

In all this reconstruction, the controlling mind was that of the First Consul. Functionaries worked as they had worked for no other master. Bonaparte knew how to set every man the right task; and his own matchless activity (he sometimes worked twenty hours a day) made it possible for him to oversee countless designs. His penetrating intelligence seized the essential point of every problem, and his indomitable will drove through all obstacles to a quick and effective solution. His ardor, his ambition for France and for glory, his passion for good work, his contempt for difficulties, inspired every official, until, as one of them said, "the gigantic entered into our habit of thought."

**The last of
the benevo-
lent despots**

CHAPTER XLVI

NAPOLEON AND THE EMPIRE, 1804-1814

**"Emperor
Napoleon
the First"**

Soon Bonaparte made it clear that he meant to seize the trappings of monarchy as well as its power. In 1802 he had himself elected "Consul for Life." He set up a court, with all the forms of monarchy, and began to sign papers by his first name only — Napoleon — as kings sign. Then, in 1804, he obtained another vote of the nation declaring him "Emperor of the French," and he solemnly crowned himself at Paris, with the presence and sanction of the pope, as the successor of Charlemagne.

Plebiscites

Napoleon always claimed that he ruled by the "will of the French people"; and each assumption of power was given a show of ratification by a popular vote, or *plebiscite*. But the plebiscite was merely the nation's Yes or No to a question framed by the master. *The nation had no share at any stage in shaping the questions upon which it was to vote*; and even the vote was controlled largely by skillful coercion. A plebiscite was a thin veil for military despotism. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that the French people tamely surrendered to a despotic master who flattered their vanity and fed their material prosperity.

**System of
spies**

Individuals who resisted found themselves subject to a tyranny worse than that of the old monarchy. Napoleon maintained a vast network of *secret police and spies*, and in ten years he sent thirty-six hundred men to prison or into exile by his mere order. *No book* could be published if it contained opinions offensive to the emperor. *Newspapers* were forbidden to print anything "contrary to the duties of subjects": they were required to omit all news "disadvantageous or disagreeable to France," and in political matters they were allowed to publish only such items as were furnished them by the government.

**Free speech
suppressed**

Even *the schools* were made to preach despotism, and were commanded to "take as the basis of their instruction fidelity to the Emperor." *Religion*, too, was pressed into service. An *Imperial Catechism* was devised, and used in all schools, expressly to teach the duty of all good Christians to obey the Emperor.¹

In 1802 Napoleon told his Council of State that he should welcome war and that he expected it. *Europe*, he declared, *needed a single head*, an emperor, to distribute the various kingdoms among lieutenants. He felt, too, that victories and military glory were needful to prevent the French nation from murmuring against his despotism. Naturally, other nations felt that there could be no lasting peace with Napoleon except on terms of absolute submission. Under such conditions as these, war soon broke out afresh. England and France came to blows again in 1803, and there was to be no more truce between them until Napoleon's fall. During the next eleven years, Napoleon fought also three wars with Austria, two with Prussia, two with Russia, a long war with Spain, and various minor conflicts.

The "Napoleonic wars"

The European wars from 1792 to 1802 belong to the period of the French Revolution proper. Those from 1803 to 1815 are "Napoleonic wars," due primarily to the ambition of one great military genius. In the first series, Austria was the chief opponent of the Revolution: in the second series, England was the relentless foe of Napoleon.

On the breaking out of war with England, Napoleon prepared a mighty flotilla and a magnificent army at Boulogne. England was threatened with overwhelming invasion if she should lose command of the Channel even for a few hours; but all Napoleon's attempts to get together a fleet to compete with England's failed.

In 1805 Austria and Russia joined England in the war. With immediate decision, Napoleon transferred his forces from the Channel to the Danube, annihilated two great armies, at *Ulm* and *Austerlitz*, and, entering Vienna as a conqueror, forced

¹ Extracts are given in Anderson's *Documents*, No. 65.

Austria to a humiliating peace. Prussia had maintained her neutrality for eleven years ; but now, with his hands free, Napoleon goaded her into war, crushed her absolutely at *Jena* (October, 1806), occupied Berlin, and soon afterward dictated a peace that reduced Prussia one half in size and bound her to France as a vassal state.

**Peace of
Tilsit**

Less decisive conflicts with Russia were followed by the Peace of Tilsit (July, 1807). The Russian and French emperors met in a long interview, and Tsar Alexander was so impressed by



THE VENDÔME COLUMN — made from Russian and Austrian cannon captured in the Austerlitz campaign. The figures on the spirals represent scenes in that campaign, and upon the summit, 142 feet high, stands a statue of Napoleon. The name Vendôme comes from the name of the public square. Napoleon, like the later Hohenzollerns, was fond of imitating the memorial works of the Roman world-empire.

Napoleon's genius, that, from an enemy, he became a friend and ally. France, it was understood, was to rule Western Europe ; Russia might aggrandize herself in the Eastern half at the expense of Sweden and Turkey ; and the two Powers were to unite in ruining England by shutting out her commerce from the continent.

Trafalgar

England had proved as supreme on the seas as Napoleon on land. In 1805, at *Trafalgar*, off the coast of Spain, Nelson

destroyed the last great fleet that Napoleon collected. Soon afterward a secret article in the Treaty of Tilsit agreed that Denmark (then a considerable naval power) should be made to add her fleet to the French; but the English government struck first. It demanded the surrender of the Danish fleet into English hands until the war should close, and finally it compelled the delivery by bombarding Copenhagen.

After this, Napoleon could not strike at England with his armies, and he fell back upon an attempt to ruin her by crushing her commerce. All the ports of the continent were to be closed to her goods, and Napoleon stirred French scientists into desperate efforts to invent substitutes for the goods shut out of the continent. (One valuable result followed. The English cruisers prevented the importation into France of West-India cane sugar; but it was discovered that sugar could be made from the beet, and the raising of the sugar-beet became a leading industry in France.)

Napoleon's
"Continental System"

This "Continental System" did inflict damage upon England, but it carried greater harm to the continent, which simply could not do without the manufactures of England, then the workshop of Europe. At times, even the French armies had to be clothed in smuggled English goods, and they marched into Russia in 1812 (p. 446) in English shoes.

England's retort to the Continental System was an attempt to blockade the coast of France and her dependencies to all neutral vessels. In these war measures, both France and England ignored the rights of neutral states. One result was the War of 1812 in America. In this struggle, unhappily, we let ourselves be drawn into fighting upon the side of the European despot, against the only champion of freedom, and upon the whole, into fighting that power which we had least reason to fight.¹ Happily, in that day, America's part could not be decisive, and the contest did not much affect the European result.

"War of
1812" in
America

¹ As if, in 1914-1918, we had let Germany draw us to her side, as she hoped, because the English blockade of Germany hurt our commerce.

**Napoleon
and the
Spanish
people**

Portugal refused to obey Napoleon's order to confiscate the English vessels in her ports. Thereupon Napoleon's armies occupied the kingdom. From this act, Napoleon passed to the seizure of Spain, placing his brother Joseph upon the throne. But the proud and patriotic Spanish people rose in a "War for Liberation." England seized her opportunity, and sent an army under Wellesley (afterward Duke of Wellington) to support this "Peninsular revolt."

To the end, this struggle continued to drain Napoleon's resources. Long after, at St. Helena, he declared that it was really the Spanish war that ruined him.

**Napoleon
after
Wagram**



NAPOLEON IN 1811.

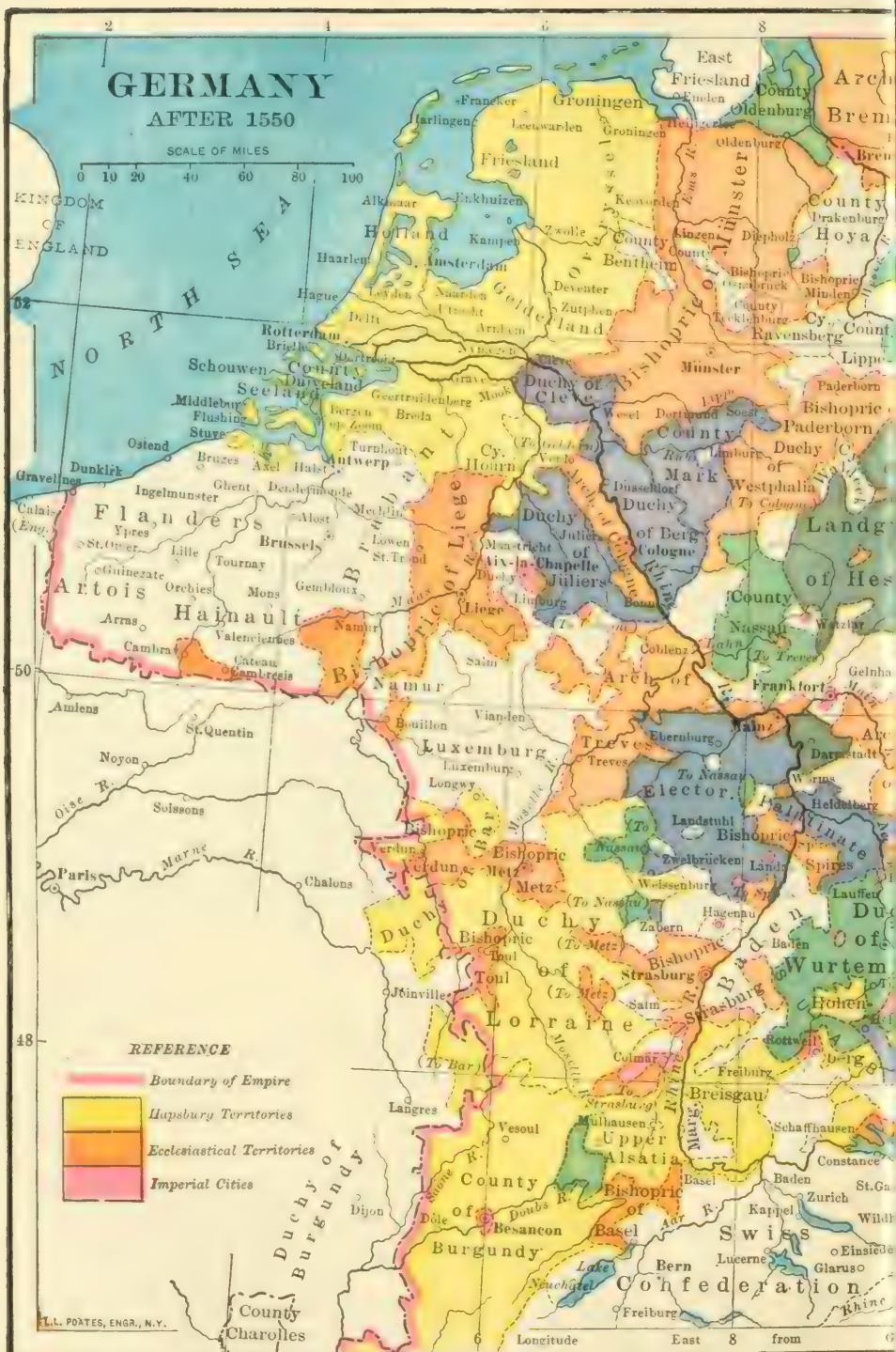
In 1809, encouraged by the Spanish rising, Austria once more entered the lists, but a defeat at *Wagram* forced her again to submission. Napoleon now married a princess of Austria. He was anxious for an heir, and so divorced his former wife, Josephine, who had borne him no

children, to make way for marriage with a grandniece of Marie Antoinette. This union of the Revolutionary emperor with the proud Hapsburg house marks in some respects the summit of his power.

**Napoleon's
new map of
Europe**

At the moment, the Spanish campaigns seemed trivial; and after Wagram, Napoleon was supreme in Central Europe. This period was marked by sweeping changes in territory. The most important may be grouped under four heads.

1. *The Batavian Republic* (p. 432) was converted into the Kingdom of Holland, with Napoleon's brother Louis for its





sovereign. Later, when Louis refused to ruin his people by enforcing the Continental System rigidly, Napoleon deposed him, and *annexed Holland to France*, along with the whole north coast of Germany as far as Denmark.

2. *In Italy* the new republics and the old petty states were disposed of, one after another. Even the pope was deprived of his principality. When these changes were complete, Italy lay in three fairly equal divisions. *In the south* Napoleon's brother, Joseph, ruled as King of Naples; and when Joseph was promoted in 1809 to the throne of Spain, he was succeeded in Naples by Murat, one of Napoleon's generals. *In the northeast* was the "Kingdom of Italy," with Napoleon himself as king — as Charlemagne and Otto and their successors had been "kings of Italy"! *The rest of the peninsula was made a part of France*, and was organized as a French Department.

3. *The Illyrian provinces* on the eastern coast of the Adriatic were annexed directly to France.

4. Most important of all were the changes in *Germany*. To comprehend the significance of Napoleon's work there, one must first grasp the bewildering conditions *before* his interference. *Until Napoleon, there was no true political Germany*. The Holy Roman Empire was made up of :

Germany
before
Napoleon

(1) Two "great states," Austria and Prussia, each of them half Slavonic in blood; (2) some thirty states of the "second rank," like Bavaria; (3) about two hundred and fifty *petty* states of the "third order" (many of them under bishops or archbishops), ranging in size from a small duchy to a large farm, but averaging a few thousand inhabitants; (4) some fifteen hundred "knights of the empire," who in England would have been country squires, but who in Germany were really independent monarchs, with an average territory of three square miles, and some three hundred subjects apiece, over whom they held power of life and death; and (5) about fifty-six "free cities," all in misrule, governed by narrow aristocracies.

Each of the two hundred and fifty states of the "third rank," like the larger ones, was an *absolute monarchy*, with its own laws, its own mimic court and army, its own coinage, and its crowd

of pedantic officials. The "Sovereign Count" of Leimburg-Styrum-Wilhelmsdorf kept a standing army of one colonel, nine lower officers, and two privates! Each of the fifteen hundred "knights" had his own system of tariffs and taxes.

Moreover, many a state of the second or third order *consisted of several fragments*¹ (obtained by accidents of marriage or war), *sometimes widely scattered*, — some of them perhaps wholly inside a larger state to which politically they had no relation. No map can do justice to the quaint confusion of this region, about the size of Texas, thus broken into eighteen hundred governments varying from an empire to a small estate, and scattered in fragments within fragments. (Map after p. 314.)

Napoleon's
beginnings
of consolida-
tion

Napoleon reduced Austria to an inland state, and halved Prussia, thrusting it east of the Elbe, and, further, turning its recent Polish acquisitions into a new Duchy of Warsaw. As another check upon the two leading states, Napoleon augmented the states of the second rank, raising several into kingdoms. And, from a general hatred for disorder and anarchy, he encouraged all these states to absorb the ecclesiastical realms and the territories of the knights and of the petty principalities within or adjoining their borders, along with nearly all the "free cities." *Thus the "political crazy quilt" of eighteen hundred states was simplified to thirty-eight states.* (This tremendous consolidation, surviving the rearrangements after Napoleon's fall, paved the way for later German unity.)

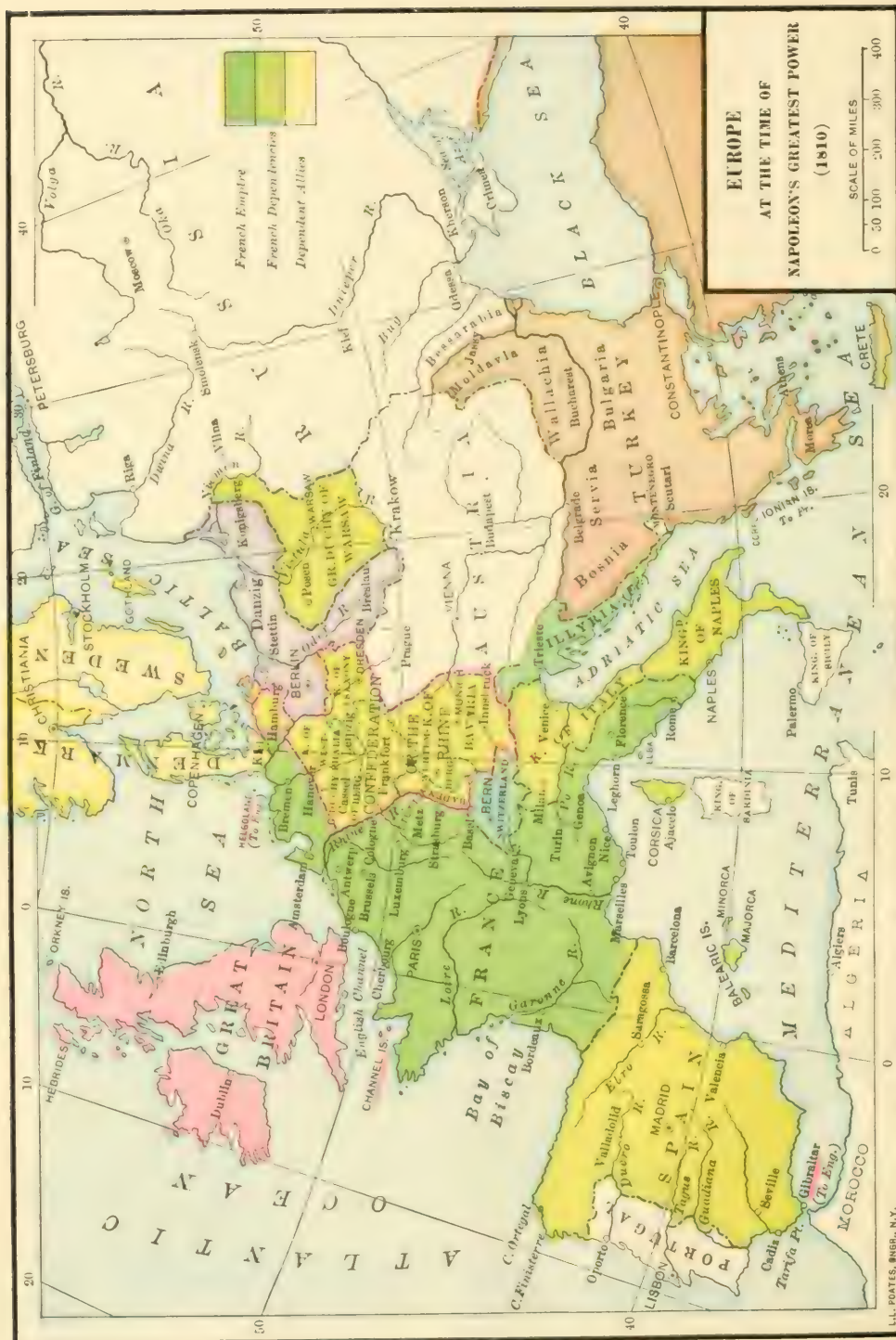
End of the
Holy
Roman
Empire

Nearly all these German states, except Austria and Prussia, were leagued in the "Confederation of the Rhine," under Napoleon as "Protector." This amounted to a dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire, and in 1806 Francis II laid down that venerable title. Napoleon himself posed as the successor of the Roman emperors. Francis was allowed to console himself with the title "Emperor of Austria," for his *hereditary* realms, instead of his previous title there, "Arch-Duke of Austria."

Social re-
form in
Germany

Napoleon's influence, too, began great *social* reforms in Germany. In the Confederation of the Rhine and in many kingdoms

¹ As indicated by such compound names as the one above.



of Napoleon's brothers and generals, serfdom and feudalism were abolished, and civil equality and the "Code Napoléon" were introduced. Everywhere, too, the administration of justice was made cheap and simple, and the old clumsy and corrupt methods of government gave way to efficiency.

Most striking of all was the reform in Prussia. In that state, reform came from a Prussian minister, and was adopted in order to make Prussia strong enough to cast off the French yoke. Jena had proved that the old Prussian system was utterly rotten. The guiding spirit in a new Prussian ministry was *Stein*, who labored to fit Prussia for leadership in freeing and regenerating Germany. The serfs were changed into free peasant-landowners; the caste distinctions in society were broken down; some self-government was granted to the towns; and many of the best principles of the French reforms were adopted. Napoleon's insolence and the domination of the French armies at last had forced part of Germany into the beginning of a new national patriotism; and that patriotism began to arm itself by borrowing weapons from the arsenal of the French Revolution.

Stein in
Prussia

In 1810 Napoleon's power had reached its widest limits. The huge bulk of France filled the space from the Ocean to the Rhine, including not only the France we know, but also Belgium, half of Switzerland, and large strips of German territory, — while from this central body two outward-curving arms reached toward the east, one along the North Sea to the Danish Peninsula, and the other down the coast of Italy past Rome.

Greatest
extent of
Napoleon's
sway

This vast territory was *all organized in French Departments*. The rest of Italy and half the rest of Germany were under Napoleon's "protection," and were ruled by his appointees. Denmark and Switzerland, too, were his dependent allies; and Prussia and Austria were unwilling ones. Only the extremities of the continent kept their independence, and even there, Sweden and Russia were his friends.

But Russia was growing hostile. Alexander was offended by the partial restoration of Poland (as the Duchy of Warsaw).

The Continental System, too, was growing more and more burdensome. Russia needed English markets, and in 1811 the Tsar refused longer to enforce the "System."

The "Retreat from Moscow"

Napoleon at once declared war. In 1812 he invaded Russia and penetrated to Moscow. The Russians set fire to the city, so that it should not afford him winter quarters; but, with rare indecision, he stayed there five weeks, hoping in vain that the Tsar would offer to submit. Then, too late, in the middle of



RISE OF THE PRUSSIANS AGAINST NAPOLEON IN 1813. — The people were often rallied by their pastors, as represented here by the Prussian artist, Arthur Kampf.

October, when the Russian winter was already upon them, the French began the terrible "Retreat from Moscow," fighting desperately each foot of the way against cold, starvation, and clouds of Cossack cavalry. Nine weeks later, twenty thousand miserable scarecrows recrossed the Niemen. The "Grand Army," a half million strong, had left its bones among Russian snows.

Battle of Leipzig

The Russians kept up the pursuit into Germany, and the enthusiasm of the Prussian people forced its government to declare against Napoleon. University professors enlisted at the head of companies of their students in a "war of liberation."

PLATE LXXVII



NAPOLEON'S RETREAT FROM MOSCOW. — a painting by Verestchagin, a Russian artist who is credited with having used his art in several large pictures especially to arouse the world to a sense of the horrors of war.

Women gave their jewels and even their hair, to buy arms and supplies. The next summer, Austria also took up arms. By tremendous efforts, Napoleon raised a new army of boys and old men from exhausted France, and for a time he kept the field victoriously in Germany; but in October, 1813, he met crushing defeat at *Leipzig*, in the "Battle of the Nations."

Napoleon retreated across the Rhine. His vassal kings fled from their thrones, and most of the small states now joined his enemies. England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, acting in close concert, took to themselves the name "The Allies." They now offered to leave Napoleon his crown, with the Rhine for the boundary of France. When these terms were haughtily refused, the Allies invaded France at several points, and, in spite of Napoleon's superb defense, they entered Paris victoriously in March, 1814, and dictated peace.

Fall of
Napoleon

Napoleon was given a large allowance, and granted the island of Elba, in the Mediterranean, as an independent principality. The Bourbon heir to the French throne, one of the Emigrant brothers of Louis XVI, appeared, *promised a constitution* to France, and was quietly recognized by the French Senate as Louis XVIII.¹ To make this arrangement popular, the Allies granted liberal terms of peace. France kept her territory as it was before the Revolution. The Allies withdrew their armies without imposing any war indemnity, such as France had exacted repeatedly from other countries; nor did they even take back the works of art that French armies had plundered from so many famous galleries in Europe.

FOR FURTHER READING. — The best brief accounts are Stephens' *Revolutionary Europe, 1789-1815*, Rose's *Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era*, and Rose's *Napoleon the First*. Anderson's *Constitutions and Documents* has an admirable selection of source material.

¹ The son of Louis XVI had died in prison at Paris in 1795. According to the theory that he began to reign upon his father's death in 1793, he is known as Louis XVII.

PART XI — REACTION, 1815-1848

CHAPTER XLVII

REACTION IN THE SADDLE, 1815-1820

I. THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

Political
chaos in
Europe

Napoleon had wiped away the old map of Europe, and now *his* map fell to pieces. All the districts which had been annexed to France since 1792, and all the states which had been created by Napoleon, were left without governments. The *old* rulers of these states were clamoring for restoration. Other rulers wanted new acquisitions to pay for their exertions against Napoleon. There was also a fear pervading Europe that from France either new and dangerous "Revolutionary" ideas or a new military conqueror might overrun the world. To settle these problems — to arrange for "restoration," "reparation," and "guarantees" — the four "Allies" invited all the sovereigns of Europe to a "Peace Congress."

The Con-
gress of
Vienna

The *Congress of Vienna* assembled in November, 1814. The crowd of smaller monarchs and princes were entertained by their Austrian host in a constant round of masques and revels, while the four great Allies (Russia, Austria, Prussia, England) did the work in private committee. From time to time, as they reached agreements, they announced results to the Congress for public ratification.

The territorial rearrangements fall under three heads.

1. *Italy was left in twelve states, and Germany in thirty-eight.* These were all *restored* to their old ruling families. (The other phases of the "restoration" can be treated most conveniently in the next chapter.)

PLATE LXXVIII



THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA. — An authorized painting by Jean Isabey.

2. *The states along the French frontier were strengthened*, as one "guarantee" against future aggression by France. (1) Holland was made into the Kingdom of the Netherlands, under the House of Orange, and Belgium was added to it, although the Belgians wished to be independent and objected very strongly to being made Dutch. (2) Nice and Savoy were given back to the Kingdom of Sardinia,¹ to which was added also the old Republic of Genoa. (3) German territory west of the Rhine, now taken back from France, was divided between Prussia and Bavaria. (4) The Congress guaranteed the "neutrality" of Switzerland, promising that all would join in punishing any country which in future wars should march troops through that state. Thus the entire European frontier next France from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, was powerfully guarded.

Territorial
rearrange-
ments:
"restora-
tions"
Guarantee
against
French
attack

3. *The remaining rearrangements had to do*, directly or indirectly, with "compensating" the *Allies* for their exertions and losses. Under cover of high-sounding phrases about founding "a durable peace based upon a just division of power," the Congress became "a Congress for loot" and began a disgraceful scramble for spoils.

(1) *England* had stood out alone for years against the whole power of Napoleon, and she had incurred an enormous national debt by acting as paymaster of the various coalitions. In repayment she now kept Malta, the Ionian Islands, Cape Colony, Ceylon, and a few other colonial acquisitions, mainly from the old Dutch empire, which she had occupied during the war. This left England the one great colonial power. Spain and Holland still had some possessions outside Europe; but their holdings were insignificant beside England's.

Plunder for
the Allies

(2) *Austria* received back all her lost territory except distant Belgium, in place of which she accepted Venetia and Lombardy — much to the distaste of the inhabitants of those districts.

(3) Alexander, Tsar of Russia, secured Finland from Sweden;

¹ Sardinia had been part of the "Piedmont" ("Foot of the Mountain") state in North Italy. When Savoy, and the rest of that state upon the mainland, fell to France, Sardinia remained for a time the sole possession of the "House of Savoy," and afterward gave its name to the whole of the restored state.

and he demanded also further reward in Poland. The Duchy of Warsaw (p. 444), he insisted, should be made into a kingdom of Poland, and he should be the king. *But this plan conflicted with Prussian ambition.*

(4) *Prussia* gained Pomerania from Sweden; but the Prussian king insisted also upon regaining the Polish provinces that Napoleon had taken from him for the Duchy of Warsaw. Alexander promised to aid Prussia to get Saxony instead. The king of Saxony had been a zealous ally of Napoleon to the last; and so, Alexander urged, it would be proper to make an exception in his case to the careful respect shown by the conquerors to all other "legitimate rulers."

The Allies
nearly fall
out

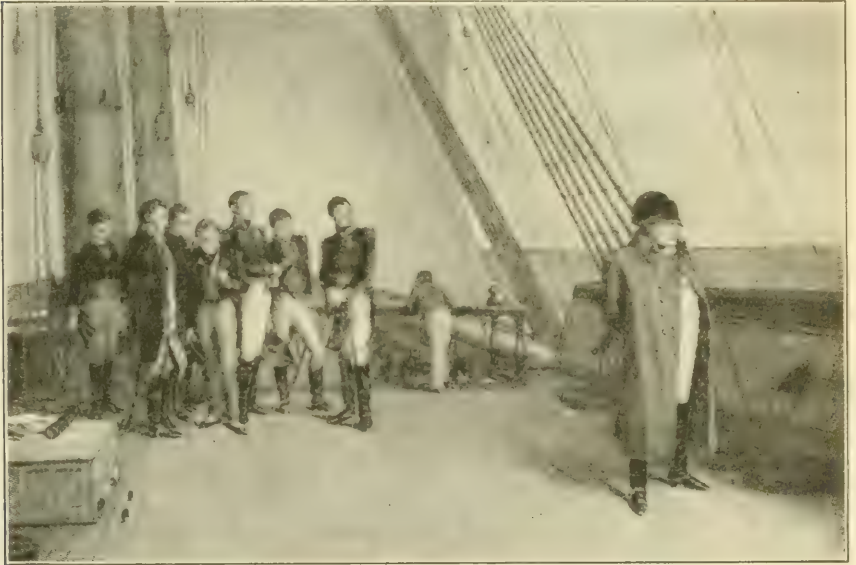
Prussia was ready to accept this; but Austria feared such extension of Prussia toward the heart of Germany, and vehemently opposed the plan. England took her side. Thus the four Allies were divided, Russia and Prussia against Austria and England, and came to the verge of war with one another. Perhaps the most interesting result of this was the way in which *France wormed her way back into the European circle.* The Allies had meant to give that "outlaw nation" no voice whatever at the peace table. But Talleyrand, the shrewd French diplomat, was present at Vienna as a looker-on; and now, by offering French aid to Austria and England at a critical moment, he won a place for his country in the Congress. Finally a compromise was made — the more readily that Napoleon had broken loose. In addition to her gain of Pomerania, Prussia took *half* of Saxony and considerable German territory, recovered from France, *west* of the Rhine.

It should be noted that *Sweden*, which in the *time of Peter the Great* had surrounded the Baltic, had now retired wholly into the northern peninsula. There, however, she found some compensation. *Denmark* (which had been the ally of Napoleon) now had to surrender Norway, and this land the Congress of Vienna turned over to Sweden in return for Finland and Pomerania. How, out of this arrangement, the Norwegians won independence in a ninety years' struggle is told in a later chapter, — one of the finest stories of the nineteenth century.

A peace of
kings, not
of peoples

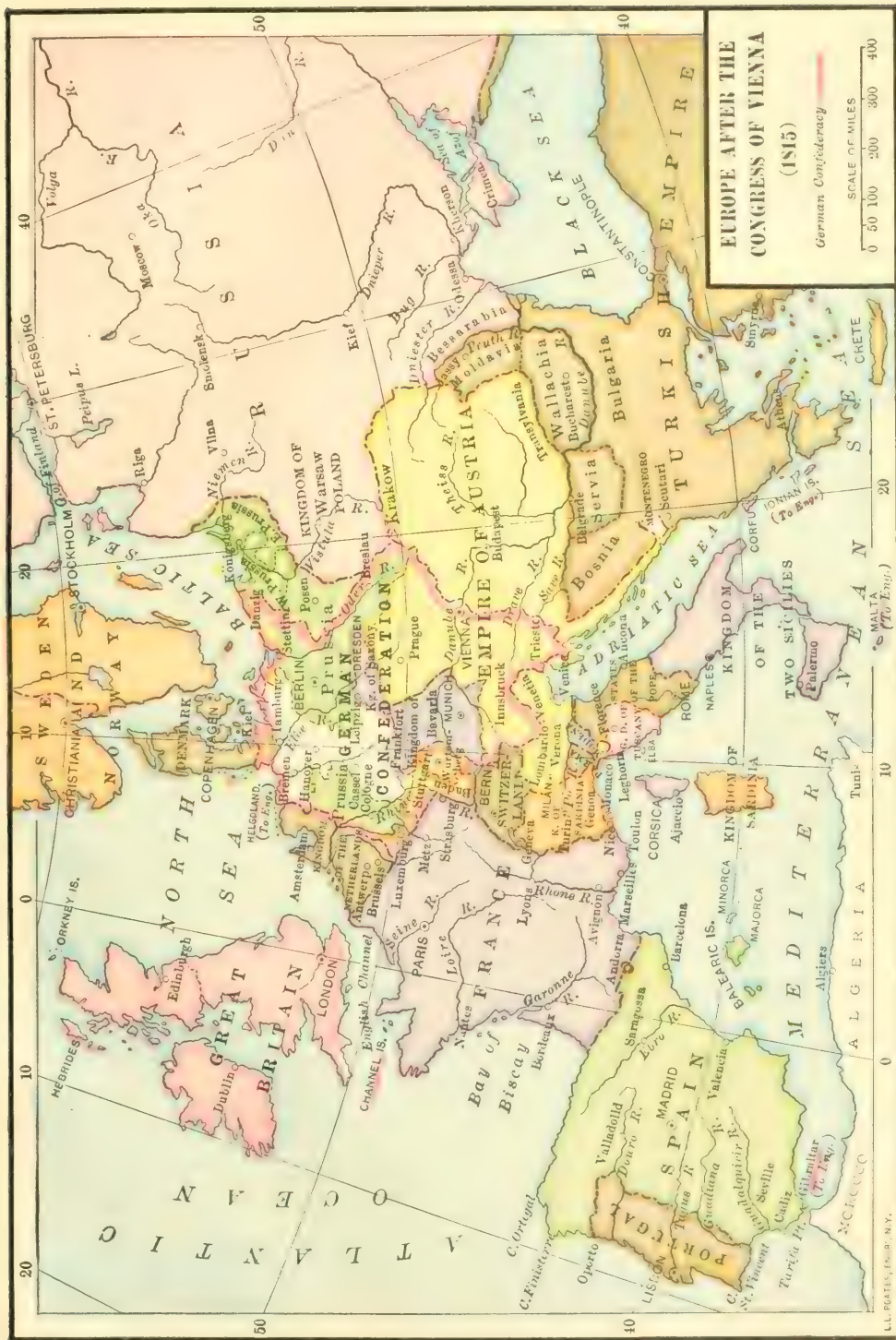
(3) to restore the works of art which Napoleon's armies had plundered from European galleries.

During the "Hundred Days," of Napoleon's rule, the Congress finished its work. That "*assemblage of princes and lackeys*" stood for reaction. As an English historian says, — "It complacently set to work to turn back the hands of time to the historic hour at which they stood before the Bastille fell." *It represented kings, not peoples.* All the republics which had appeared since the French Revolution, and also the *old* republics (the United Provinces, Venice, and Genoa), were given to



NAPOLÉON AFTER SURRENDER. — Fearing that the other allies might take his life after Waterloo, he hastened to surrender to the British frigate *Bellerophon*.

monarchs. "Republics," said the Austrian Metternich (p. 453), "seem to have gone out of fashion." Switzerland was the only republic left in Europe, — and it was given an inefficient, loose union, far less effective than it had enjoyed under Napoleon's supremacy. *Peoples were never consulted.* The Congress transferred Belgians, Norwegians, Poles, Venetians, from freedom to a master, or from one master to another, — in every case *against their fierce resentment.* The next hundred years were to be busied very largely in undoing this work — until not one stone of the building was left upon another.



EUROPE AFTER THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA (1815)

German Confederacy

SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400

II. THE RULE OF METTERNICH

For five years, reaction and despotism held the stage. In many states, especially in the pettier ones, the restoration of the old rulers was accompanied by ludicrous absurdities. The princes who had scampered away before the French eagles came back to show that they had "learned nothing and forgotten nothing." They set out to ignore the past twenty years. In France a school history spoke of Austerlitz as "a victory gained by General Bonaparte, a lieutenant of the king"! The king of Sardinia restored serfdom. The Papal States and Spain again set up the Inquisition. In some places French plants were uprooted from the botanical gardens, and street lamps and vaccination were abolished because they were "French improvements."

Absurdities
of the reac-
tion after
1815

The statesmen of the Great Powers must have smiled to themselves at some of these extremes; but they, too, almost universally strove to suppress progress. Five states — Russia, Austria, Prussia, France, and England — really determined the policy of Europe. The first four were "divine right" monarchies. Louis XVIII gave France a limited Charter, but it carefully preserved the theory of divine right. That theory, of course, could have no place in England, where the monarchy rested on the Revolution of 1688; but even in England the Whigs were discredited, because they had sympathized at first with the French Revolution. For some years the government there was in the hands of the Tory party, which was bitterly opposed to progress.

"The rule of Napoleon was succeeded by the rule of Metternich" — the Austrian minister. Metternich was subtle, adroit, industrious, witty, unscrupulous. His political creed he summed up thus: "Sovereigns alone are entitled to guide the destinies of their peoples, and they are responsible to none but God. . . . Government is no more a subject for debate than religion is." The "new ideas" of democracy and equality and nationality¹ ought never to have been allowed to get into

Metternich,
the evil
genius of
the reaction

¹ The sentiment of nationality is the feeling among all the people of one race, speech, and country that they should make one political state, or be-

Europe, he said; but, since they were *in*, the business of governments must be to keep them *down*.

The Liberals of Europe had greeted Napoleon's overthrow with joyous acclaim; but soon it seemed that Waterloo had simply "replaced one insolent giant by a swarm of swaggering pygmies." The Allied despots had roused the peoples, with promises of constitutions, to overthrow a rival despot, and then they betrayed the peoples and recalled their promises only as a jest. A few months after Waterloo, the English poet Byron lamented that "the chain of banded nations has been broke in vain by the accord of raised-up millions"; and, "standing on an Empire's dust" at the scene of the great battle, and noting "How that red rain has made the *harvest* grow," he mused:

"Gaul may champ the bit and foam in fetters,
But is *Earth* more free?
Did nations combat to make *one* submit,
Or league to teach *all* kings true sovereignty? . . .
Then o'er *one* fallen despot boast no more."

The
Germanic
Confeder-
ation

Metternich's *chief* victory at the Congress of Vienna lay in the *new organization of Germany*. No one thought of restoring the discredited Holy Roman Empire. Liberal Germany, represented by Stein (p. 445), had hoped for a *real* union, either in a consolidated German Empire or in a new federal state. But Metternich saw that in a true *German* empire, Austria (with her Slav, Hungarian, and Italian interests) could not long keep the lead against Prussia. He preferred to leave the various states practically independent, so that Austria, the largest of all, might play them off against one another. The small rulers, too, were hostile to a real union, because it would limit their sovereignties. Metternich allied himself, in the Congress, with these princes of the small states, and won. The thirty-eight German states were organized into a "Germanic Confederation," a *loose league of thirty-four* sovereign princes and of the governments of the surviving "free cities," — Hamburg, come a "nation." This feeling tended to draw all Germans into one German state, and all Italians into one Italian state. In any conglomerate state, like Austria in that day, the feeling of nationality was likely to be a disrupting force.



**THE
GERMANIC
CONFEDERATION**

**FROM
1815 to 1867**

SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 75 100 125

**N O R T H
S E A**

HELIGOLAND.
(British)

1854

1854

1854

1854

1854

1854

1854

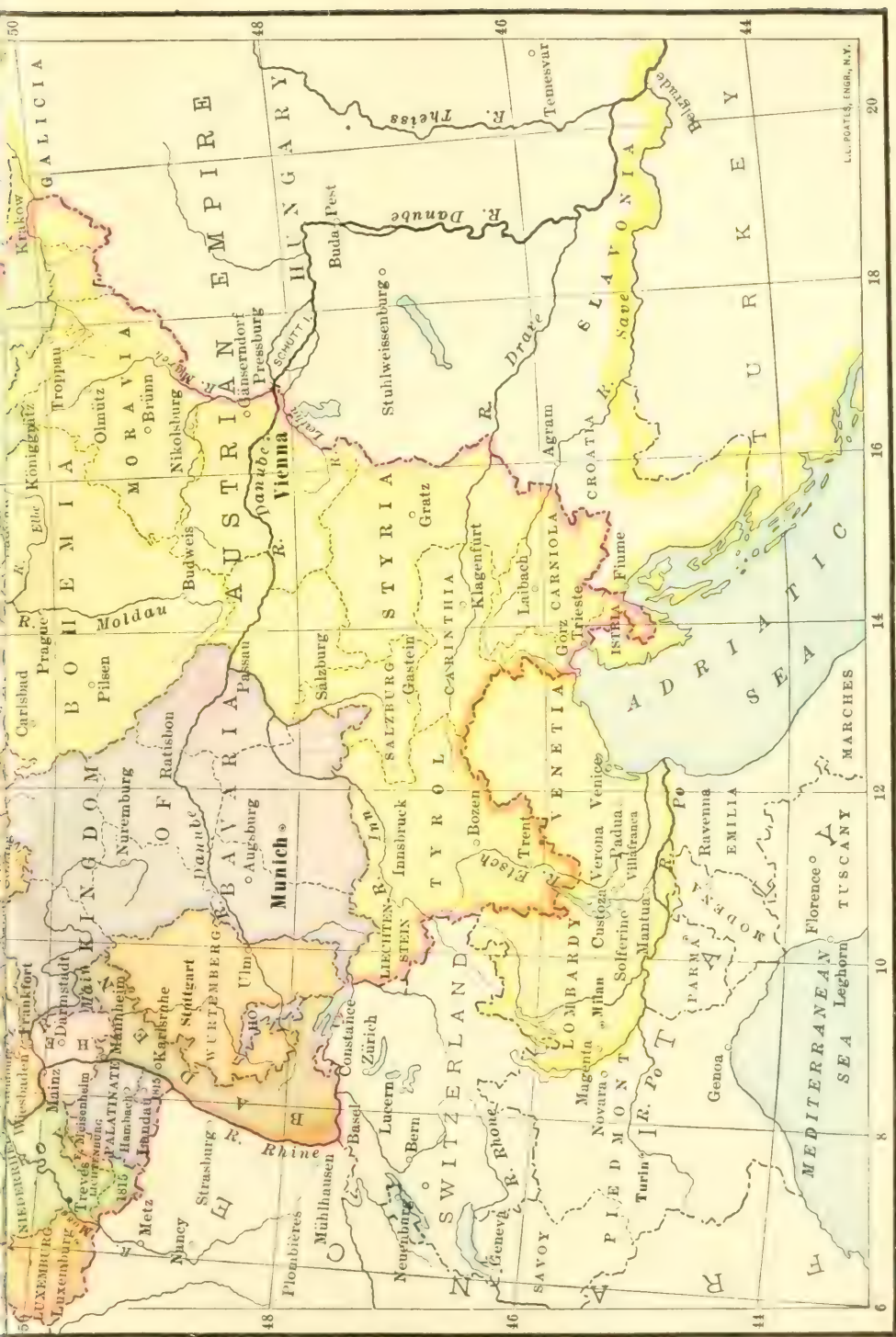
1854

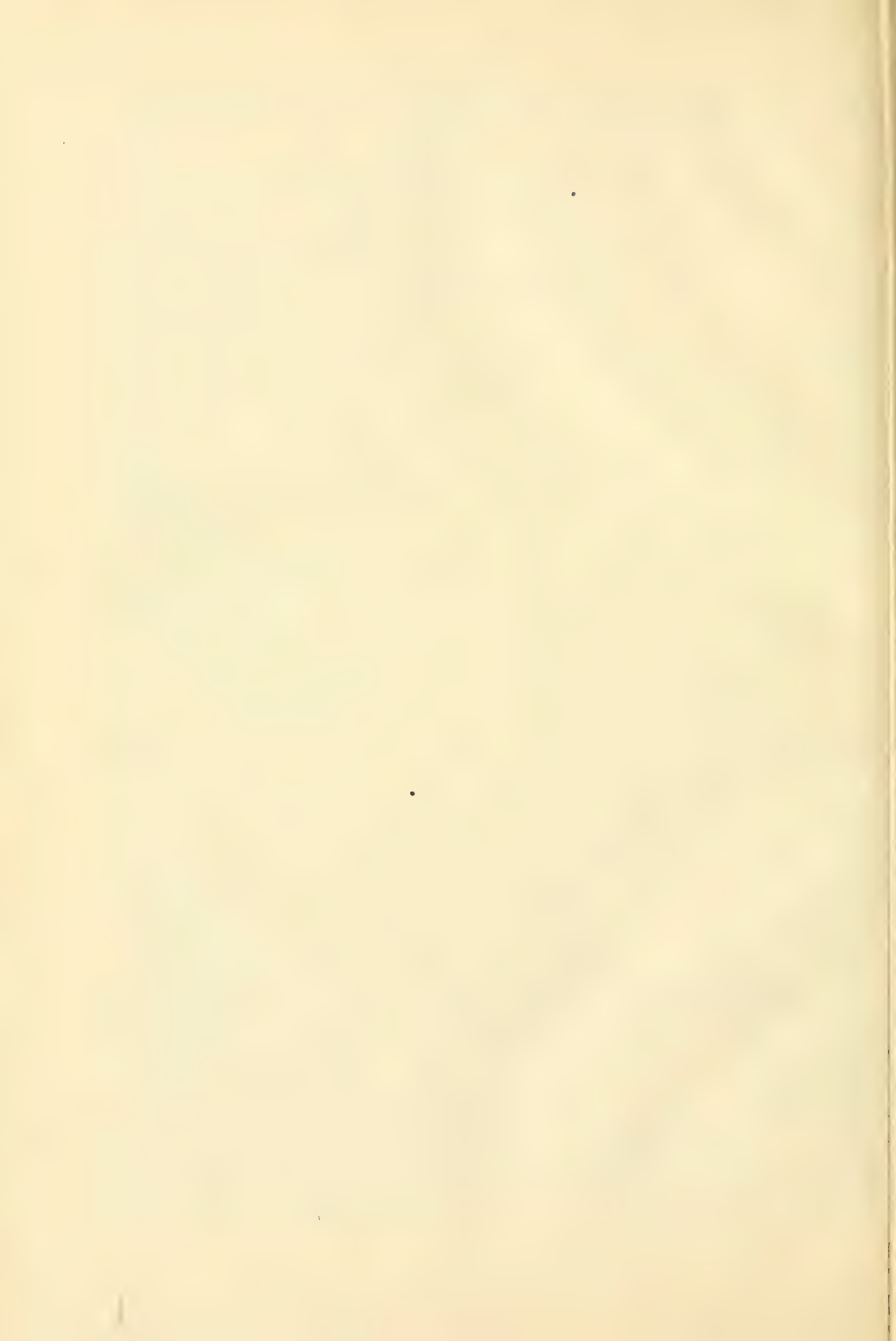
1854

1854

1854

1854





Bremen, Lübeck, and Frankfort. Each state controlled its own government, its own army, its own tariffs, and its own foreign diplomacy, — although they did promise not to make war upon one another. The *one* organ of the Confederation was a Federal Diet at Frankfort. This was merely a *standing conference of ambassadors* appointed by the sovereigns: no important action could be taken without the consent of *every* state.

But though the chance for making one German nation had been lost, *the Liberals still hoped*, for a time, for free political institutions in *the separate states*. Within the next four years, moderately liberal constitutions *were* granted in several states, especially in South Germany, where the people had been greatly influenced by the French Revolution. Frederick William III of Prussia, also, appointed a committee to draw up the constitution that he had twice promised solemnly in the war of liberation. But he was a vacillating man, greatly influenced by the nobles, who railed bitterly at the idea of free institutions; and after the committee had dawdled along for four years, he repudiated his pledge.

A few constitutions

Outside the Rhine districts the Liberals were made up of writers, journalists, students, professors, and a few others from the small educated middle class. In the universities, professors and students organized societies (*Burschenschaften*) to agitate for German freedom and union. Some boyish demonstrations by such societies threw sober statesmen into spasms of fear, and seemed to them to prelude a revolutionary "Reign of Terror." Unhappily, Metternich's hand was strengthened also by the foolish crimes of some Liberal enthusiasts. A small section of radical agitators preached that even assassination in the cause of liberty was right; and, in 1819, a fanatical student murdered Kotzebue, a Russian representative in Germany, who was supposed to be drawing the Tsar away from his earlier liberal sympathies.

Disappointment and radical agitation

Metternich was prompt to seize the chance. He at once called the leading sovereigns of Germany to a conference at Karlsbad. There he secured their approval for a series of resolutions, which he afterward forced through the Diet at Frankfort. These

The Karlsbad Decrees

Karlsbad Decrees of 1819 were especially directed against *free speech* in the press and in the universities. They forbade secret societies among students; they appointed a government official in every university to discharge any professor who should preach doctrines "hostile to the public order"; they set up a rigid censorship of all printed matter; they created a standing committee to hunt down conspiracies; and these despotic purposes were enforced for many years by the exile or cruel imprisonment of thousands of high-souled youths and gentle scholars, — for singing patriotic songs or for wearing black, red, and orange (the colors of the old Empire), which had become the symbol of German unity.¹

FOR FURTHER READING. — The most desirable general treatment of the nineteenth century for high schools is Hazen's *Europe Since 1815*. Duplicate copies of this work will be better than a multiplicity of references; but students should have access also to Andrews' *Modern Europe*, Seignobos' *Europe Since 1814*, and Carlton Hayes' *Modern Europe*, II.

EXERCISE. — Add to the list of dates 1776, 1789, 1815.

¹ These colors had been used as the flag of the patriotic uprising against Napoleon in 1814; but their use was now punished severely — even in such ingeniously evasive combinations as a black coat, a yellow (straw) hat, and a red vest!

CHAPTER XLVIII

UNSUCCESSFUL REVOLUTIONS, 1820-1830

The history of the nineteenth century is the history of the influences which the French Revolution left. — FREDERIC HARRISON.

No land touched by the French Revolution was ever again quite the same. — FREDERICK A. OGG.

The first attacks upon Metternich's system came from the south of Europe. The Spanish patriots who rose in 1808 against Napoleon (p. 442) found themselves without a government. Their king was in the hands of the French. The insurgent leaders came largely from the small, educated middle class, who had been converted to the ideals of the early French Revolution. These leaders set up a representative assembly (the Cortes), and, in 1812, they adopted the liberal "Constitution of 1812" (modeled upon the French Constitution of 1791).

The Spanish "Constitution of 1812"

Meantime, when Napoleon seized Spain, the Spanish American states refused to recognize his authority, and so became virtually independent, under governments of their own. At first, most of these new governments were in name loyal to the Spanish crown. During the next few years, however, the Spanish Americans experienced the benefits of freedom and of free trade with the world, and began to follow the example of the United States, which had so recently been merely a group of European colonies. By 1820, all the Spanish states on the continent of America had become virtually independent nations.

Independence of Spanish America

After the fall of Napoleon, the Spanish king, Ferdinand, returned to his throne. He had promised to maintain the new constitution; but he soon broke his pledges, restored all the old iniquities, and cruelly persecuted the Liberal heroes of the "war of liberation." In 1820 he collected troops to subdue the re-

Restoration of Ferdinand

The Spanish
Revolution
of 1820

volted colonies ; but one of the regiments, instead of embarking, raised the standard of revolt and proclaimed the Constitution of 1812. Tumult followed in Madrid. The king, cowardly as he was treacherous, yielded, and restored the constitution.

Revolution
spreads
through the
south of
Europe

This Spanish Revolution of 1820 became the signal for like attempts in other states. Before the year closed, *Portugal* and *Naples* both forced their kings to grant constitutions modeled upon that of Spain. Early in the next year, the people and army of Piedmont rebelled, to secure a constitution for the Kingdom of Sardinia. Lombardy and Venetia stirred restlessly in the grasp of Austria. And the Greeks began a long struggle for independence against Turkey.

We have seen how Metternich used the Germanic Confederacy, designed for protection against foreign attack, to stifle liberalism in Germany. We are now to observe how he adroitly twisted an alliance of monarchs from its original purpose in order to crush these revolutions in Southern Europe.

Interven-
tion by
"the Holy
Alliance"

After Waterloo, while the four "Allies" were still in Paris (November 20, 1815), they agreed to preserve their union and to hold meetings from time to time. The purpose was to guard against any future aggression by France. But when the revolutions of 1820 began, Metternich assembled the *absolute* sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia in a "Congress" at *Troppau*, where they signed a declaration that they would unite to put down revolution against any established government. England protested, both before and after the meeting, declaring that each nation should manage its internal affairs as it chose, and on this issue, she now withdrew from the alliance of 1815 — which from this time is known popularly as *the Holy Alliance*.¹

England
protests

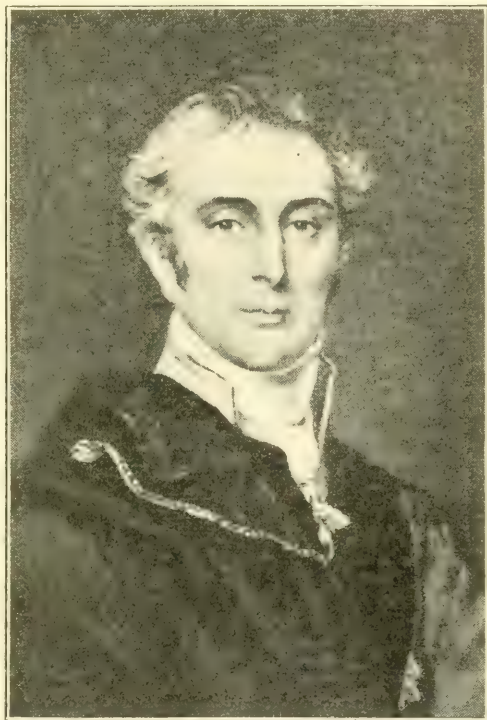
Spanish
constitu-
tionalism
crushed

Undaunted by England's opposition, the banded despots promptly marched overwhelming armies into Italy and restored absolutism in both Naples and Piedmont; and then, flushed with success, determined next to overthrow also the Spanish

¹ The confusion which explains this name is discussed in West's *Modern Progress*, 342.

constitution, from which the "contagion of liberty" had spread. In 1822, at a *Congress at Verona*, they were joined by France. England again protested vigorously. The French representative tried to reconcile England by pleading that a constitution might be all very well in Spain, but that it should be a constitution *granted by the king*, not one *forced upon him* by rebels against his authority. Wellington, the English representative, Tory though he was, fitly answered this "divine right" plea: "Do you not know, sir, that it is not kings who make constitutions, but constitutions that make kings!"

But on land, England could do no more than protest, and, with the sanction of the "crowned conspirators of Verona," a French army restored the old absolutism in Spain. The "Holy Alliance" planned also to restore



THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

monarchic control in the revolted Spanish colonies. But here they failed. On the sea England was supreme; and she made it known that she would oppose the intended expedition with all her great might. Once more, as in Napoleon's day and in Philip II's, the English sea power saved liberty.

America shares in the credit of checking the despots. Canning, the English minister, urged the United States to join England in an alliance to protect Spanish America. The United States chose to act without formal alliance,¹ but did act along the same lines. President Monroe's message to Congress in 1823 announced to the world that this country would oppose any

**Spanish
America
saved by
England
and the
Monroe
Doctrine**

¹ See West's *American People*, p. 425 ff.

attempt of the despotic Powers to extend their "political system" to America.¹

Greek inde-
pendence
secured

Almost at once Metternich met another check, in the affairs of Greece. The rising there had been accompanied by terrible massacres of all Turks dwelling in the country, and the exasperated Turkish government was now putting down the rebellion by a war of extermination. For a time Metternich hoped to bring about intervention by the allied Powers to restore Turkish authority; but he failed from two causes.

1. *The educated classes of Western Europe had been nourished mainly on the ancient Greek literature*, and now their imagination was fired by the thought that this struggle against the Turks was a contest akin to the glorious ancient war against the Persians. The man who did most to widen this sympathy was Byron, the English poet, who closed a career of mingled genius and generosity and wrongdoing by a noble self-devotion, giving fortune and life to the Greek cause. Numbers of volunteers, aroused by his passionate lyrics, followed him to fight for Greek liberty, and before any government had taken action, the Turks complained that they had to contend with all Europe.

2. *The Russian people felt a deep sympathy for the Greeks as their co-religionists*, and a deeper hatred for the Turks as their hereditary foes, so that the Tsar could not join in open intervention against the revolution.

Battle of
Navarino

Finally, indeed, intervention came, but *for the Greeks*. The English, French, and Russian fleets had proceeded to Greece to enforce a truce, so as to permit negotiation. The three fleets were acting together under the lead of the English admiral, who happened to be the senior officer. Almost by chance, and chiefly through the excited feelings of the common sailors, the fleets came into conflict with the Turkish fleet, and annihilated it in the battle of *Navarino* (October, 1827). The English commander had gone beyond his instructions, but excited public feeling gave the government no chance to disown him. So the three Powers forced Turkey to grant independence to the Greeks.

¹ This is one part of the famous Monroe Doctrine.

Elsewhere, however, Metternich was triumphant. For ten years after the overthrow of the gallant Spanish Revolution, the reactionists had things their own way from England to Greece. *The next attack on Metternich's system came from France in 1830.*

When Louis XVIII became king of France (p. 447) he knew that the people must have some assurance of those personal liberties which they had won in the Revolution. Accordingly he gave to the nation the "Charter of 1815." In this way he saved the theory of "divine right"; and the preamble expressly declared the king the source of all authority. Still this grant gave the people of France more freedom than any other large country on the continent then had, — confirming religious liberty, equality before the law, free speech, and freedom of the press. *Political* liberty, however, was extremely limited. There was provided a legislature of two Houses, — the *Peers* (appointed by the king) and the *Deputies*; but the property qualification for voting was put so high that only about one out of seventy adult males had any voice in the elections. Moreover, the king kept an *absolute veto* and the *sole right to propose laws*, along with Napoleon's system of control over all *local* administration.

The French
Charter of
1815

In 1824 the shrewd Louis was succeeded by his arbitrary and extremely reactionary brother, Charles X. Now the government curtailed the freedom of the press, closed the historical lectures of Guizot (a very moderate Liberal), and plundered \$200,000,000 from the treasury for returned Emigrants. It was plain, too, that the king was bent upon restoring to the church its old lands and its old control over education, and upon punishing the old Revolutionists.

Charles X

In 1827 came the election of a new Chamber of Deputies, and, despite the narrow electorate, that body had a large majority of Liberals, vehemently opposed to the king's policy. Charles tried to disregard that majority and to keep his old ministers in power; but (March 2, 1830) the Assembly, by a vote of 221 to 182, adopted a bold address calling for the dismissal of the ministry, — "that menace to public safety." Charles instead

dissolved the Chamber. Public interest was intense, and the aged Lafayette journeyed through France to organize the Liberals for the next contest at the polls. The new elections in June destroyed the reactionary party. Every deputy who had voted against the ministry was reelected, and the Liberals gained also fifty of the remaining seats.

The "July Ordinances" of 1830

Twice defeated by the votes of even the oligarchic landlords, but no whit daunted, the stubborn monarch tried a *coup d'état*. He suspended the Charter by a series of edicts, known as the July Ordinances. These Ordinances (1) forbade the publication of newspapers without royal approval, (2) dissolved the new legislature (which had not yet met), and (3) *promulgated a new law* for elections so as to put control into the hands of a still smaller class of great landlords.

The "July Days"

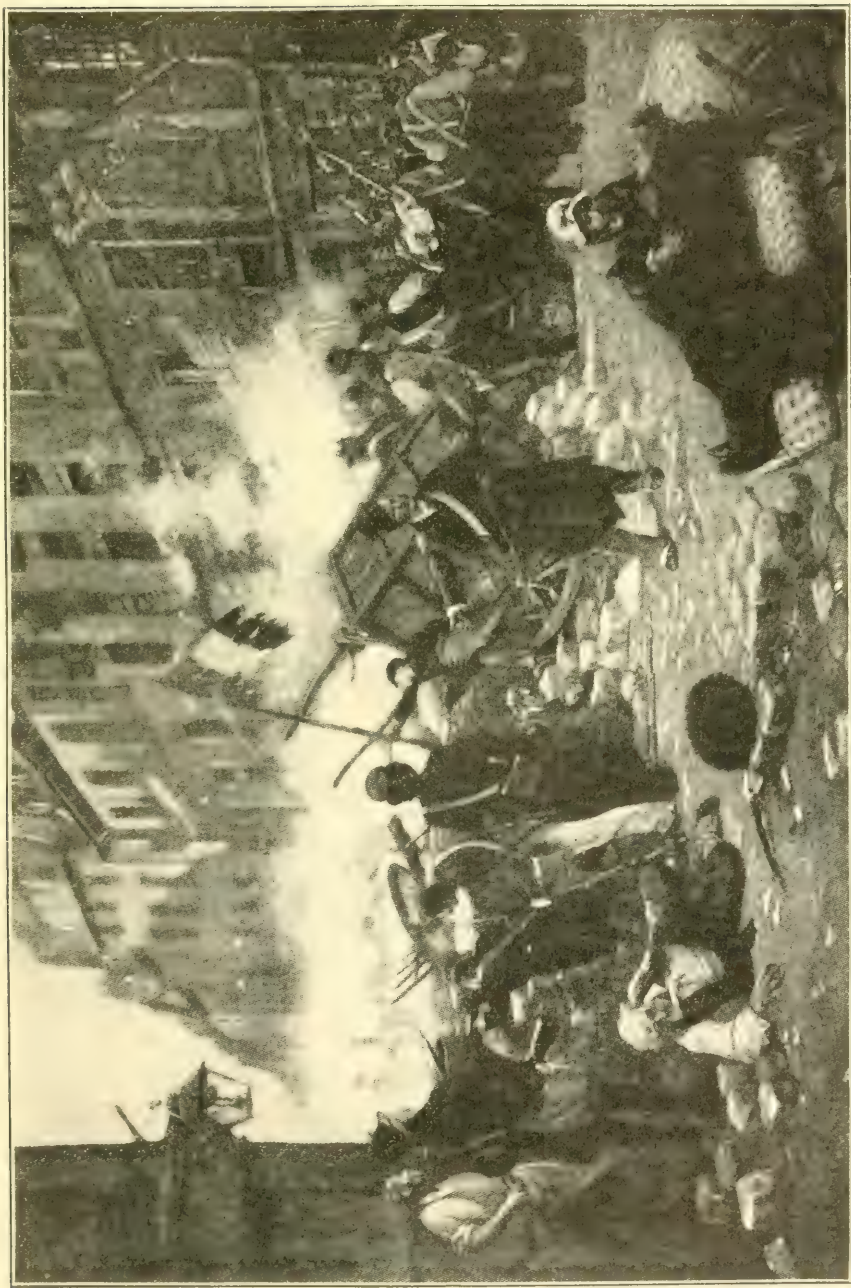
The Ordinances were published July 26, 1830. That day, forty-one journalists of Paris, led by the young Thiers,¹ printed a protest, declaring the Ordinances illegal and calling upon France to resist them. The journalists had in mind only *legal* resistance, not violence; but there were in Paris a few old Revolutionists who were ready to go further. The same evening these radicals appointed "Committees of Insurrection" for the various districts of the city. The next morning angry crowds thronged the streets, and threw up barricades out of paving stones. That night Lafayette reached Paris, to take charge of the revolt. The regular troops made only half-hearted resistance. They lacked good leadership, and they hated to fire on the rebel flag, — *the old tricolor*. About four thousand men were slain in three days' fighting. Then Charles fled to England. *Outside Paris, there was no fighting, but the nation gladly accepted this "Second French Revolution."*

The end of divine right in France

A limited monarchy

The "divine-right monarchy" in France was now replaced by a constitutional kingship. The legislature, which Charles had tried to dissolve, restored the tricolor as the flag of France, made the Charter into a more liberal constitution, and then

¹ Thiers had been preaching boldly in his newspaper the English constitutional doctrine, — "The king *reigns*; he does not *govern*."



A PARIS BARRICADE IN 1830, — by the contemporary French artist, Georges Cain.

offered the crown to Louis Philippe¹ (a distant cousin of Charles), *on condition that he accept this amended Charter*. The old Charter had declared that the king ruled "by the grace of God." The new document added the words, "*and by the will of the nation.*"

In this vital respect, the Second French Revolution corresponded to the English Revolution of 1688. In other ways it did not go so far. It did give to the legislature the right to introduce bills, and it doubled the number of voters, extending the franchise to all who paid forty dollars in direct taxes; but *this still left twenty-nine men out of thirty without votes.*

The Charter
amended

The revolution was not confined to France. For a moment, Metternich's system tottered over Europe. Belgium broke away from the king of Holland, to whom the Congress of Vienna had given it. Poland rose against the Tsar, to whom the Congress had given it. The *states of Italy* rose against Austria and the Austrian satellites, to whom the Congress had given them. And in Germany there were uprisings in all absolutist states, to demand the constitutions which the Congress had *not* given.

Spread of
revolution

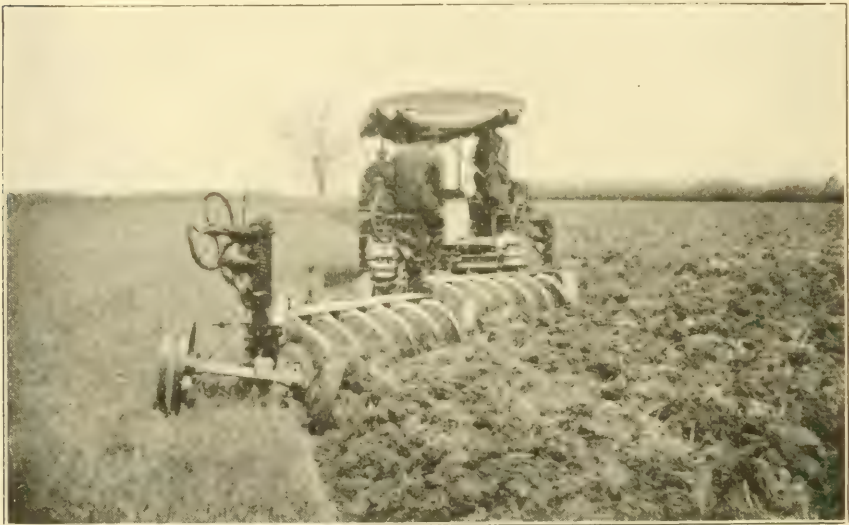
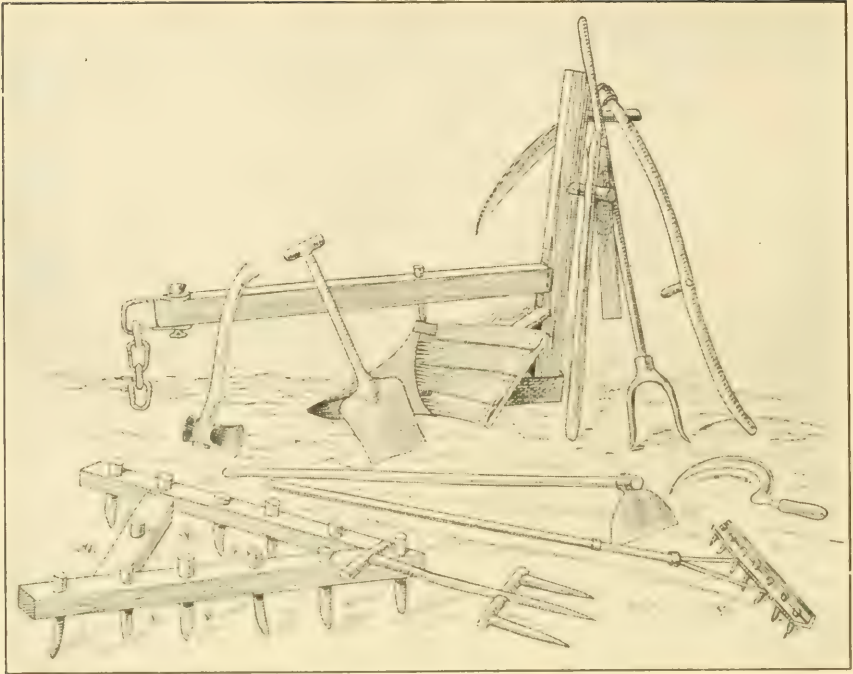
The final gains, however, were not vast. Belgium did become an independent monarchy, with the most liberal constitution on the continent. And France, besides her own gains, was definitely lost to the Holy Alliance of divine-right despots. (Indeed France joined England in protecting Belgium by arms against "intervention" — so that Metternich called London and Paris "the two mad-houses of Europe.") But Tsar Nicholas crushed the Poles, took away the constitution that Alexander had given them during his rule, and made Alexander's "Kingdom of Poland" into a mere Russian province. Austria crushed the Italian revolts; and then, his hands free once more, Metternich restored "order" (and despotism) in the disturbed German states.

Gains and
losses in
1830

¹ As a youth Louis Philippe had taken the side of the First Revolution in 1789, and had fought gallantly in the French Revolutionary armies, until the extremists drove him into exile. Then, instead of joining the royalist emigrants in their attacks on France, he had fled to England and America, — where he earned his living by teaching French.

Still, reaction had lost much of its confidence ; and when the next year of revolutions came, Metternich's system fell forever in Western Europe. That successful "Revolution of 1848" began in France, but it was the work of a new class of workingmen, — factory workers, — who themselves were the product of a new industrial system that had grown up first in England. We must go back for that story.

PLATE LXXXI



ABOVE. — FARM TOOLS IN 1800. — There were none others except the wagon — and the new and very rare (and very crude) threshing machine. BELOW. — MODERN PLOWING. — These two cuts suggest only faintly the change that a hundred years has worked in agriculture. The tractor, steam or gasoline, is an American invention. Note the width of the swath. The movement forward is far more rapid than any horse team can go with *one* plowshare. Note the comfort in which the men work. And the difference between the plows of 1800 and of 1900 is less striking than the difference between the *amount* of farm machinery then and now.

CHAPTER XLIX

ENGLAND AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

While France was giving the world her first great social and political revolution, with noise and blood, toward the close of the eighteenth century, England had been working out quietly an even greater revolution which was to change the work and daily life of the masses of men and women and children over all the world. This "revolution" was at first a change in the ways in which certain kinds of work were done ; so we call it "the Industrial Revolution." It was not wrought by kings, or generals, but by humble workers busied in homely toil, puzzling day after day over wheels and belts and rollers and levers, seeking some way to save time.

The "Industrial Revolution"

Our life and labor differ far more widely from that of our great-great-grandfathers in the time of the American Revolution, than their life and labor differed from that of men in the time of Charlemagne a thousand years before. In the days of Voltaire and George Washington, men raised grain, and wove cloth, and carried their spare products to market, in almost precisely the same way in which these things had been done for six thousand years.

Little change in industry for 1000 years before 1750

The first improvements came in England. Early in the eighteenth century, landlords there had introduced a *better system of "crop-rotation,"* raising roots like beets and turnips on the field formerly left fallow (p. 275). The added root crops made it possible to *feed more cattle* — which furnished more manure, which increased *all crops*. *Mechanical* invention in agriculture came a little later. In 1785 the *first threshing machine* was invented, and enterprising "gentlemen farmers" soon began to use it ; but it was exceedingly crude. The *cradle scythe* — a hand tool, but a vast improvement on the old sickle for harvesting grain — was

The revolution in English agriculture

patented in *America* in 1803. The *cast-iron plow*¹ appeared about 1800, permitting deeper plowing and more rapid work ; but for some time, even in *America*, farmers were generally prejudiced against it, asserting that the iron "poisoned" the ground.

The revolution in transportation

When these changes in agricultural *production* were just beginning there came also a change in transportation. Merchandise had been carried from place to place on pack horses ; and travel was on horseback, or (on a few roads) by clumsy slow six-horse coaches. But about 1750 *England* began building "turn-pikes" (with frequent barriers where tolls were collected from travelers to keep up repairs) ; a Scotch engineer, MacAdam, gave his name to "Macadamized" roads ; and soon extensive canals (with "locks" to permit a boat to pass from one level to another) began to care for most of the bulky commerce.

Weaving and spinning

The change that was really to revolutionize society, however, came in *manufacturing*, and first in spinning. In Queen Elizabeth's time, the fiber of flax or wool was drawn into thread by the distaff and spindle, as among the Stone-Age women. But in the seventeenth century in *England*, the distaff was replaced by the *spinning wheel*, — run first by one hand, but afterward by the foot of the spinner. Even the wheel, however (such as may now and then still be found tucked away in an old attic), drew out only *one thread at a time*. To spin thread enough to weave into the cloth for a family's clothing was a serious task. Weavers didn't get thread fast enough, and in 1761 the English Royal Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures offered a prize for an invention for swifter spinning. Three years later, in 1764 (just before Parliament passed the Stamp Act), an English weaver, *James Hargreaves*, noticed that his wife's spinning wheel, tipped over on the floor, kept whirling away for a surprising time. Taking a hint from this new position, he invented a machine where one wheel turned eight spindles, and spun *eight threads*, instead of one. Hargreaves called the new machine the "Jenny," from his wife's name.

¹ Improvements on the plow began with experiments on the shape of the mold board by Thomas Jefferson in *Virginia*.

The thread was not satisfactory, however, for all parts of cloth manufacture; but in 1775 *Richard Arkwright*, a barber and peddler, devised a new sort of spinner without spindles. He ran

Water
power for
hand power



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A SPINNING WHEEL found in use recently in a Swiss home.

his wool or cotton through a series of rollers revolving at different rates, to draw out the thread; and he drove these rollers *by water power*, not by hand, and so called his machine a "*Water Frame*." Four years later (1779), *Samuel Crompton*, an English weaver, ingeniously combined the best features of the "*Jenny*" and the

"Water Frame" into a new machine which he called "*the mule*" — in honor of this mixed parentage. With "*the mule*," one spinner could spin *two hundred threads at a time*.

Now the *weavers* could not keep up. They were still using the hand loom, older than history. Threads were drawn out length-



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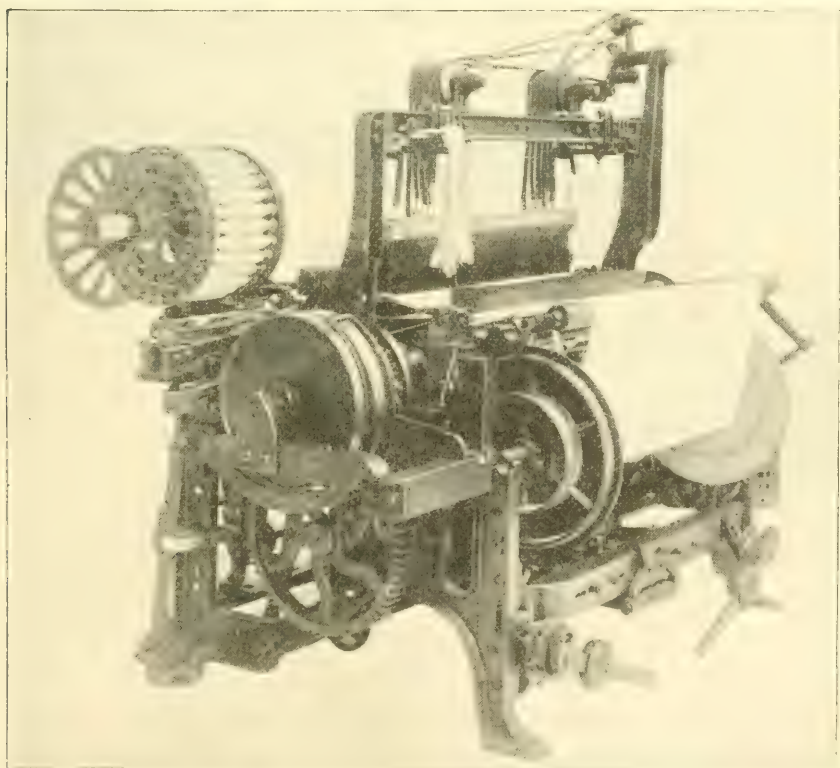
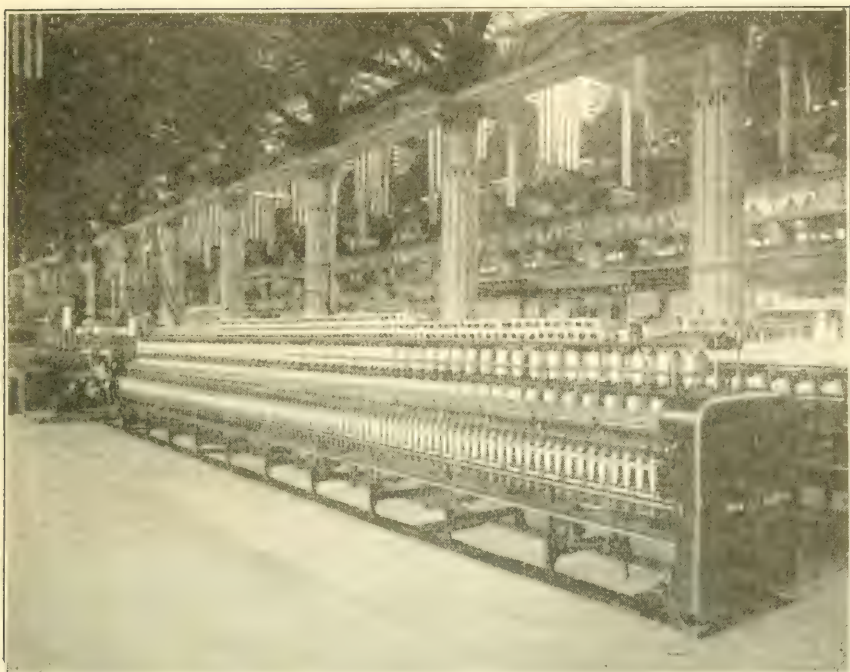
A PRIMITIVE LOOM in use in Japan to-day.

wise on a frame, so making the warp. Then the weaver drove his shuttle by hand back and forth between those threads with the woof (cross threads). But now (1784) *Edmund Cartwright*, a clergyman of the Church of England, patented a "*powerloom*," in which the shuttle *threw itself back and forth automatically*; and by later improvements it became possible for one man to weave more cloth in 1800 than two hundred could in 1770.

The next need was more cotton ready to spin. Eli Whitney, in America, met this by inventing his *Cotton Gin*, wherewith one slave could clean as much cotton fiber from the seed as three hundred had been able to clean before. At almost the same time

The cotton
gin and the
supply of
cotton

PLATE LXXXII

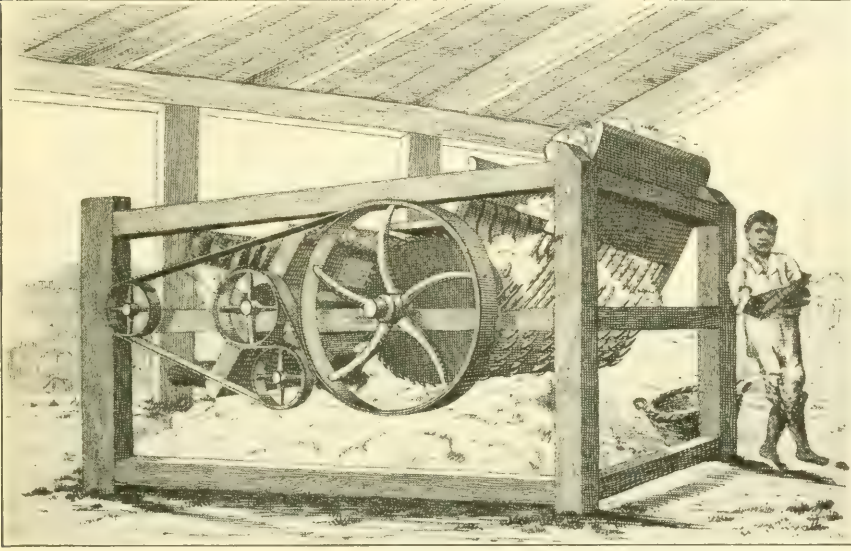


ABOVE. — TWENTIETH-CENTURY SPINNING MACHINERY — which, with very little human labor, spins thousands of threads at once.
BELOW. — A MODERN POWER LOOM.

a way was found to bleach cloth swiftly, by chemicals, instead of slowly by air and sun as formerly.

Then came James Watt to supply a new power to run this new machinery. Before 1300, Roger Bacon had speculated on the expansive power of steam as a motive power, and a nobleman of Charles I's time constructed a steam engine that pumped water. Inventor and invention perished

The steam
engine



Courtesy of the Library of Congress

AN EARLY COTTON GIN.

in the Civil War that followed;¹ but, a hundred years later, steam engines began to be used in England to draw water out of flooded mines. These engines, however, had only an up-and-down movement; they were clumsy and slow; and they wasted steam and fuel. James Watt, an instrument-maker, was called upon to repair a model for such an engine, and became interested in removing these defects. By 1785, he had constructed engines that worked much more swiftly, economically, and powerfully, and *which could transmit their power to wheels* (and so drive machinery) by an arrangement of shafts and cranks. In 1785 steam was first used to drive spinning machinery. Fifteen years later, there were more steam engines in

¹ George MacDonald's *St. George and St. Michael* tells the story.

England than water wheels, and four had found their way to America.

Improve-
ments in
working iron

One more series of inventions completed this wonderful circle of the eighteenth century. Engines and power machines could be built in a satisfactory manner only from iron; but the manufacture of iron was still slow and costly, and the product was poor stuff. In 1790, however, steam began to be used to furnish a new blowing apparatus which gave a *steady blast* of air, in place of the old bellows and like arrangements. This soon made possible more rapid and more perfect work in iron. New and better ways, too, were found to change the brittle "castings" into malleable "wrought" iron.

Thus, by 1800, the "*age of steam and iron*" had begun in England, and to some degree in America. The continent of Europe was closed against it some years longer by Napoleon's Continental System.

This is the convenient place to note two applications of the steam engine to locomotion, and also a few other inventions of the following half-century — more in America now than in England.

The
steamboat

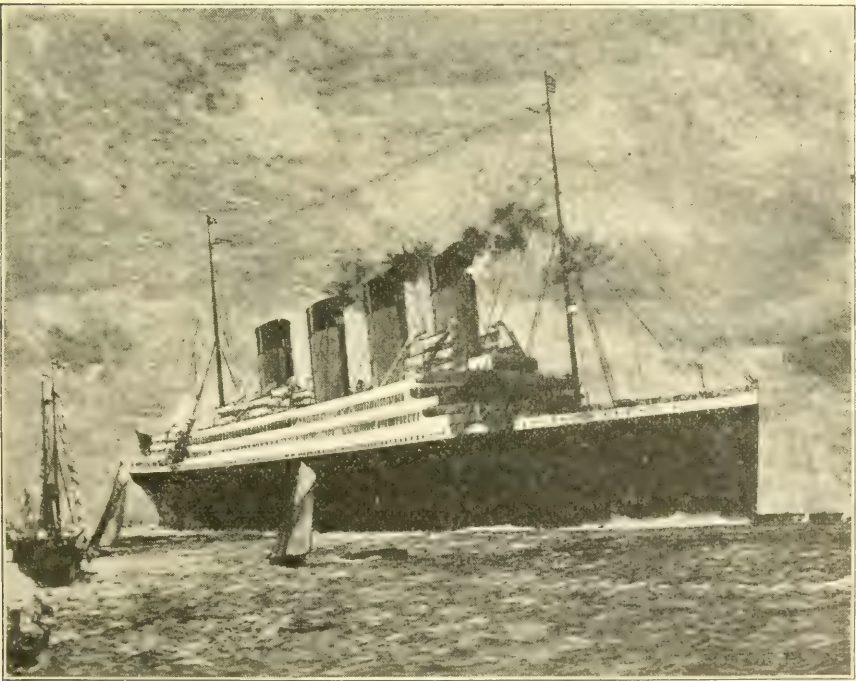
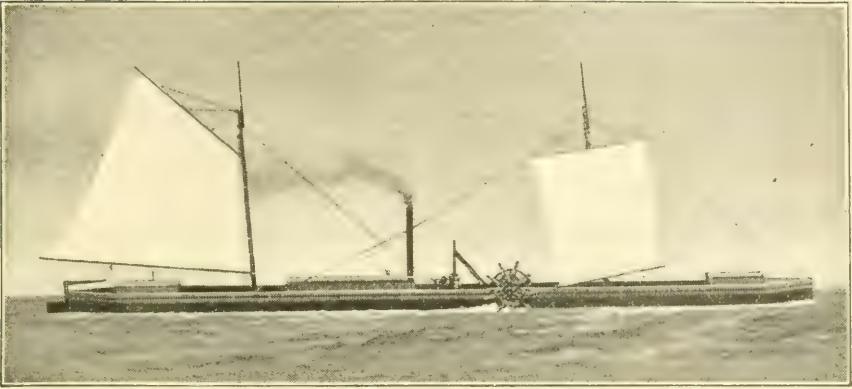
In America the chief need was to apply steam to *locomotion*, and first (with our tremendous distances and lack of roads) to locomotion *by water*. As early as 1787 James Rumsey of Virginia ran a steamboat on the Potomac, and at almost the same time John Fitch and Oliver Evans did the like on the Susquehanna at Philadelphia. But no one of these neglected and broken-hearted geniuses could find capital willing to back the invention. Some twenty years later, however, Robert Fulton was more fortunate.¹ He secured money from Chancellor Livingstone of New York: and in 1807 his *Clermont* made its trial trip *up* the Hudson, 150 miles in 32 hours.

The
railway

Since steam could drive boats, why not coaches on land? *Horse* tramways had been used in England for many years to carry coal from a mine to a canal, and soon after 1800 a Cor-

¹ Fulton offered his invention first to Napoleon, as a means of transporting his waiting troops from Boulogne to England (p. 439). Happily, Napoleon thought him a faker.

PLATE LXXXIII



ABOVE. — FULTON'S *Clermont*. — From a model in the National Museum at Washington.

BELOW. — The modern steamship *Brittanic* of the White Star Line.

nishman used a *stationary* steam engine to furnish the power for a *short* tramway. But the problem was to get a *traveling* engine. In 1814 George Stephenson succeeded in building a "locomotive" able to haul coal carts on tramways, and in 1825 a passenger line (twelve miles long) was opened in England. In 1833 a steam railway carried passengers from London to Liverpool in ten hours (a four-hour ride now), whereas the stage coach took sixty. The railway age had begun.

And in many other ways, soon after 1800, mechanical invention began to affect life. From the beginning of George Washington's administration to 1812, the American Patent Office registered less than eighty new inventions a year. From 1812 to 1820 the number rose to about 200 a year, and in 1830 there were 544 new patents issued. Twenty years later the thousand mark was passed, and in 1860 there were five thousand. A like movement, if not quite so swift, was taking place also in England.

These inventions mostly *saved time* or *helped to make life more comfortable or more attractive*. A few cases only can be mentioned from the bewildering mass. The *McCormick reaper* (to be drawn by horses) appeared in 1831, and soon multiplied the farmer's efficiency in the harvest field by twenty. (This released many men from food-production, and made more possible the growth of cities and of manufactures.) *Planing mills* created a new industry in woodworking. "*Colt's revolver*" (1835) replaced the one-shot "pistol." *Iron stoves* began to rival the ancient fireplace, especially for cooking. *Friction matches*, invented in England in 1827, were the first improvement on prehistoric methods of making fire. Illuminating gas, for lighting city streets, made better order possible at night, and helped improve public morals. In 1838 the English *Great Western* (with *screw propeller* instead of side paddles, and with coal to heat its boilers) *established steam navigation between Europe and America*. The same year saw the first successful use of huge *steam hammers*, and of anthracite coal for smelting iron. In 1839 a Frenchman, Daguerre, began photography with his "daguerreotype." Still earlier, a French chemist had invented the canning

Other leading industrial inventions — to 1850

of foods. In 1841 Dr. Crawford W. Long first demonstrated the value of *ether as an anesthetic*, — an incomparable boon to suffering men and women. The *magnetic telegraph*, invented in 1835, was made effective in 1844. The *Howe sewing machine* was patented in 1846; and the next year saw the first *rotary printing press*.

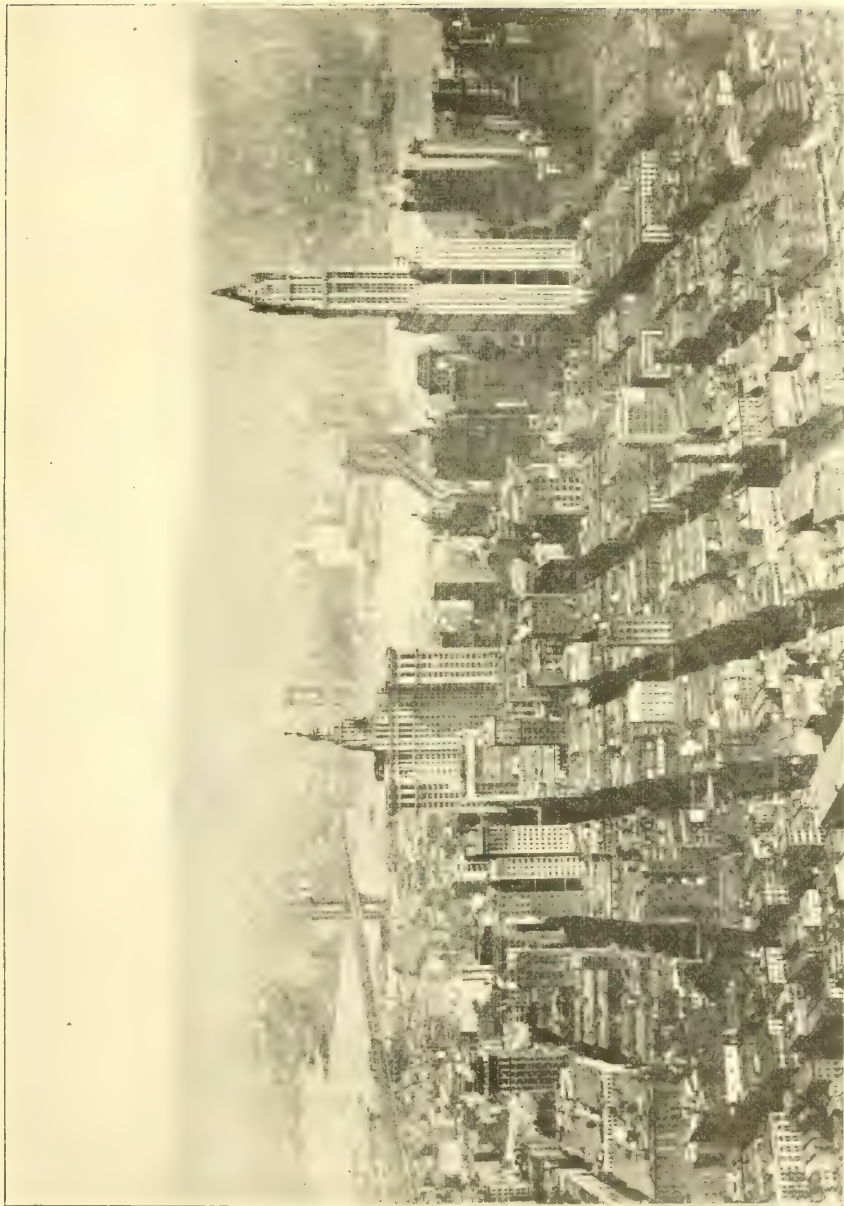
The latest phases of the Industrial Revolution — which has never ceased — will be noted when we reach the “Age of Electricity”; but it is convenient to treat here two of the chief developments of the second half of the nineteenth century.

**Bessemer
steel**

1. The rapidly growing use of machinery called insistently for still better material than ordinary iron. Steel, an alloy of iron and carbon about midway in structure between cast iron and wrought iron, had been prized for centuries; but no way was known to produce it rapidly out of iron ore. The Bessemer process (invented in England) made steel available and relatively cheap. This invention gave a tremendous impulse to all forms of industry, transforming even the landscape, with our lofty “iron” [steel] bridges, and the exterior of our cities, with our modern “sky-scrapers.”

Petroleum

2. Coal became the chief manufacturing fuel about 1800; but before the close of the nineteenth century its place in many industries was challenged by mineral oil, or petroleum. Mineral oil had been known in small quantities, and was used as a liniment (“Seneca Oil”) before 1850. The first gushing oil well was discovered in western Pennsylvania in 1859, and the use of oil for light, heat, and power began. “To strike oil” soon became a byword for success — equivalent to a “ship come home” in the days of primitive commerce. Of recent years all the great industrial nations have been increasingly concerned about the future supply of this indispensable commodity, looking covetously toward the rich but undeveloped oil districts of Mexico, Roumania, and Mesopotamia.



NEW YORK CITY, "down town": Woolworth Building (right), Municipal Building (center), Brooklyn Bridge (right), Manhattan Bridge (left), Brooklyn beyond East River. This official photo of the Air Service of the United States Army shows the effect of the use of steel in city architecture.

CHAPTER L

THE REVOLUTION IN THE LIVES OF THE WORKERS

With machinery and steam power, one laborer was soon able to produce more wealth than hundreds had produced by the old hand processes. This ought to have been pure gain for all the world, and especially it should have meant more comfort and more leisure for the workers. *Part of the increased wealth* did go, *indirectly*, to the common gain, in lower prices. Every one could soon buy cloth and hardware cheaper than before the Industrial Revolution. But, even yet, the workers have failed to get their fair share of the world's gain; and for many of them, while the Industrial Revolution was young, it meant, not higher life, but lower life.

Under the "domestic system" (p. 366) all manufactures had been handmade (as the word "manufacture" signifies). Hours of labor were long and profits were small, because there was little surplus wealth to divide. But workmen worked in their own homes, under reasonably wholesome conditions. Their labor was varied. They owned their own tools. They had considerable command over their hours of toil. Their condition resembled that of the farmer of to-day more than that of the modern factory worker. Usually, too, the artisan's home had its garden plot, from which he drew part of his living, and in which he could spend much labor profitably in a dull season for his trade. But the machinery of the new industrial age was costly. Workmen could not own it as they had owned their old tools. Nor did they know how to combine to own it in groups. It all passed into the hands of wealthy men, who hired workers ("operatives") to "operate" it. *This marks the beginning of a new organization of labor.* As the old slave system gave way to serfdom in agriculture and to a guild organization

Workmen
under the
old "do-
mestic sys-
tem "

The new
factory
system

in manufactures, and as guilds gave way to the domestic system, so now the domestic system gave way to the present capitalist system, or wage system, or factory system.

The new
"capital-
ist"

The capitalist manufacturer was a new figure in European life, appearing first in England, alongside the country gentlemen and the merchant princes. He was not himself a workman, like the old "master." He was only an "employer." He erected great factories, filled them with costly machines, bought the necessary "raw material" (cotton, wool, or iron, as the case might be), paid wages, and took the profits.

The new
"pro-
letariat"

And if the capitalist was a new figure in middle-class society, *the capitalless and landless worker* was a much more significant new figure in the "lower classes." He now furnished nothing but his hands. Moreover, much of the work on the new machinery could be done by women and children — especially in all cloth manufactures, where the work consisted largely in turning a lever, or tying broken threads, or cleaning machinery. Until the operatives learned how to combine, so as to bargain collectively, the capitalist could fix wages and hours and conditions as he pleased.

Cleavage
between
classes

The capitalist, too, had no personal contact with his workmen. He employed, not two or three, living in his own family, but hundreds or thousands, whose names even he did not know except on the payroll. There was no chance for understanding between him and his "hands." Under the gild and domestic systems, apprentices and journeymen had expected to rise, sooner or later, to be "masters"; and at all times they lived on terms of constant intercourse with their masters, who worked side by side with them, and had a sort of fatherly guardianship over them. Under the new system, a particularly enterprising and fortunate workman might now and then rise into the capitalist class; but on the whole, a permanent line separated the two classes.

These features of the capitalist system we still have with us. But another group of changes, less inevitable, were for a time exceedingly disastrous. As the factory came in, the worker changed his whole manner of life for the worse. He had to reach

his place of work by sunrise or earlier, and stay there till sunset or dusk. So the employer built long blocks of ugly tenements near the factory for rent; and the workmen moved from their village homes, with garden spots and fresh air and varied industry, into these crowded and squalid city quarters. In 1750 England was still a rural country, with only five towns of more than 5000 people. In 1801 more than a hundred towns counted 5000 people, and the total population had nearly doubled.

Tenement
life

England was the first country to face the problems created by this rapid growth of city populations; and in England for a time no one saw these problems clearly. The employers, most directly responsible, felt no responsibility, and were engaged in an exciting race for wealth. The new cities grew up without water supply, or drainage, or garbage-collection. Science had not learned how to care for these needs, and law had not begun to wrestle with them. The masses of factory workers and their families dwelt in den-like garrets and cellars — a family stuffed indecently into a squalid unwholesome room or two — bordering on pestilential alleys, in perpetual filth and disease and misery and vice. In 1837 one tenth of the people of the great city of Manchester lived in cellars.

Little better was the factory itself. Carpenters and masons commonly worked *from sunrise to sunset* — or even from dawn to dark — just as farm laborers often do still. Such long hours for toil were terribly hard: but they could be endured when spent in fresh air, amid out-door scenes, in interesting and varied activity. But this long labor day was now carried into the factory. There it was unendurable and ruinous, because of foul air, poor light, nerve-racking noise of dangerous, limb-tearing machinery, the more monotonous character of factory labor — the workman spending his day in repeating over and over one simple set of motions, — and because there it crushed women and children.

Long hours
and mo-
notonous
labor

The long
day

This was true even in America, when factories grew up here after 1815. Many years ago, Professor Ely of Wisconsin University wrote (*Labor Movement in America*, 49): "The length of actual labor [in 1832] in the Eagle Mill at Griswold [Connect-

Illustrations
from Amer-
ica in 1830

icut] was fifteen hours and ten minutes. The regulations at Paterson, New Jersey, required women and children to be at work at half-past four in the morning. . . . Operatives were taxed by the manufacturers for the support of churches. . . . Women and children were urged on by the use of the rawhide."

Child
slavery in
England

In England, conditions were at first worse than this. Parish authorities had power to take children from pauper families and apprentice them to employers; and dissolute parents sometimes sold their children into service by written contracts. In the years just before 1800, gangs of helpless little ones from six and seven years upwards, secured in this way by greedy contractors, were *auctioned off*, thousands at a time, into ghastly slavery. They received no wages. They were clothed in rags. They had too little food, and only the coarsest. They were driven to toil sixteen hours a day, in some places by inhuman tortures. They had no holiday except Sunday; and their few hours for sleep were spent in dirty beds from which other relays of little workers had just been turned out. Schooling or play there was none; and the poor waifs grew up — girls as well as boys — if they lived at all, amid shocking and brutal immorality.

The
beginnings
of reform

In 1800 a terrible epidemic among children in factory districts aroused public attention; and Parliament "reduced" the hours of labor for children-apprentices to *twelve* a day. In 1819 and in 1831 laws were passed to shorten hours also for other child employees — who were supposed to be looked after by their parents. But these laws were ill-enforced; and until after 1833 (p. 520) the mass of factory children continued to be "sad, dejected, cadaverous creatures," among whom at any great factory, said a careful observer, "the crippled and distorted forms were to be counted by hundreds."¹

The "let-
alone"
theory of
economics

The revolution in work and in the workers' lives brought with it a revolution in thought. A group of writers put into form a new doctrine about the production of wealth — which very largely replaced the old Mercantilist political economy. The

¹ Read Mrs. Browning's *Cry of the Children*.

PLATE LXXXV



ABOVE. — HARVESTING IN 1831, with McCormick's first successful horse reaper, — a tremendous advance upon the old hand sickle. (The self-binder had not yet been invented.)

BELOW. — HARVESTING TO-DAY. A Mogul Kerosene Tractor pulling two McCormick reapers and binders with mechanical shockers. Two men do many times as much work as six with the earlier reaper. (Cf. also cuts facing p. 405.)

leader of the new teaching was Adam Smith in England. His *Wealth of Nations* (published in 1776) taught that "laws" of "supply and demand" were "natural laws" in society, and could not be meddled with except to do harm. Prices and wages and all conditions of labor were to be regulated wholly by this "law." This would secure "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." Government must keep hands off, unless called in as a policeman to keep order.

This became known as the "Manchester doctrine," because so universal in that early center of manufactures. It is also called by a French name, — *Laissez faire* ("let it go"). English *merchants*, also, accepted it, in their hatred of the old restrictions upon trade; and it soon became almost a religion to the *town* middle class. It suited the strong and prosperous, but it was utterly unchristian in its corollary, "The devil take the hindmost." It produced happiness for a few, and misery "for the greatest numbers." The horrible conditions of the new factory towns were its first fruits. Some thinkers began to call this political economy a "dismal science," and, in search of a cure for social ills, to swing over to some form of *socialism*.

The early socialists were moved by a deep love for humanity and by a passionate hatred for suffering and injustice, but they were not scientific thinkers. They believed that rich and poor could be induced by argument to set up a society of common goods and brotherly love, such as More had pictured in *Utopia*. Usually they thought that, in the new arrangement, society would be broken up into many small communistic units of a few hundred or a few thousand people each; and one of the leaders, Robert Owen (a Scotch manufacturer), spent his fortune in establishing model coöperative communities of that sort, as at New Harmony in Indiana. (All Owen's settlements failed; but his work gave a great impulse to the later coöperative societies.)

Early
socialism

Modern socialists look back upon these early efforts as well-meant efforts of dreamers, and trace their present doctrine to Karl Marx. Marx was born in 1818 in Germany. He attended the University of Berlin, and was intended by his family for a university professor; but his radical ideas kept him from obtain-

Marxian
socialism

ing such a position. He began to publish his works on socialism about 1847. Germany and then France drove him away as a dangerous disturber of order; and he spent the last half of his life in England.

Marx threw aside the idea that benevolent persons could introduce a new era of coöperation by agreement. He believed, however, that a new coöperative organization of society was going to succeed the present individualistic organization as inevitably as that had followed the gild and slave organization,



STEEL WORKS IN PUEBLO, COLORADO.

through tendencies in economic development that could not be controlled. All history, he said, had been the story of class struggles. Ancient society was a contest between master and slave; medieval society, between lord and serf; present society, between capitalist and workers. The workers, he was sure, will win, when they learn to unite.

Modern socialism points out that a few capitalists *control* the means of producing wealth. This, they argue, is the essential evil in industrial conditions. Their remedy is *to have society step into the place of those few*, taking over the ownership and management (1) of natural resources (mines, oil wells, water power,

etc.); (2) of transportation; (3) of all machinery employed in large-scale production. They do not wish to divide up property, or to keep individuals from owning houses, libraries, carriages, pictures, jewels, of their own. That is, they do not wish to abolish private ownership of the things we use to support life or to make life more enjoyable, but only of those things we use to produce more wealth.

Unfortunately a large division of socialists have abandoned the ballot in favor of "direct action." By this they do not mean, most of them, bombs or bullets, but they do mean industrial *compulsion* of society through "general strikes." To succeed in this, they aim first to organize all workers in each great industry, unskilled as well as skilled, into "one big union." This program originated with the French "Syndicalists" a few years ago, and has been adopted by the "I. W. W." in America. Society tends, naturally, to meet these threats of compulsion with harsh repression. However, the world congress of socialists in 1920 (the "Second International") distinctly repudiated these methods and clearly affirmed its faith in persuasion and the ballot.

" Direct
action "

Students who pay any attention to socialism admit that its ideals are noble, and that it has rendered a real service by calling attention forcefully to cruel evils in our society. But the great majority of thinkers have little faith in its *remedies*, and do not believe that the socialist program would work as its advocates teach. Most constructive thinkers hope to lessen the ills of society without surrendering private enterprise and individual initiative to any such degree as the socialists think necessary.

FOR FURTHER READING. — On the Industrial Revolution, — Slater's *Modern England* (American edition), especially the introduction; Alsopp's *English Industrial History*, Part IV; Byrn's *Progress of Invention*; Kirkup's *History of Socialism*.

PART XII — CONTINENTAL EUROPE REARRANGED, 1848-1871

CHAPTER LI

"THE YEAR OF REVOLUTIONS," 1848

I. IN FRANCE

The mid-
dle-class
monarchy

In France the divine-right monarchy, we have seen, gave way in 1830 to a *constitutional monarchy*. Louis Philippe (p. 463) liked to be called "the Citizen King." He walked the streets in the dress of a prosperous shopkeeper, a green cotton umbrella under his arm, chatting cordially with passers-by. *He had little understanding*, however, of the needs of France, or of the feelings of the masses below the shopkeeping class. For eighteen years (1830-1848) the favor of the middle class upheld his throne. Only the richest citizens shared in political power (p. 463); but the whole middle class held military power in the National Guards — to which no workingmen were admitted.

In the legislature there were two main parties. Thiers (p. 462) led the more liberal one, which wished the monarch to be a figurehead, as in England; Guizot (p. 461), the conservative leader, wanted to leave the king the real executive, and to resist all further liberalizing of the government. (Both Guizot and Thiers were famous historians.)

Guizot's
policy of
stagnation,
1840-1848

From 1840 to 1848, Guizot was chief minister. France was undergoing rapid industrial growth, and needed tranquillity and reforms. Guizot gave it tranquillity. His ministry was the most stable government that France had known since the days of Napoleon. But, in his desire for tranquillity, he opposed all reform. Proposals to reduce the enormous salt

tax, to extend education, to reform the outgrown postal system, to improve the prisons, to care for youthful criminals, were alike suppressed. He kept France not so much tranquil as stagnant.

Thus, after a time, the bright, brainy public men were nearly all driven into opposition. But Guizot could not be overthrown by lawful means. The franchise was too narrow; and (incorruptible and austere himself) he had organized the vast patronage of the government for public corruption. Less than 200,000 men could vote, and the government had 300,000 offices to buy voters with.¹ At one time, half the legislature held considerable revenues at Guizot's will.

In the matter of *political* reform Thiers' party asked only (1) to forbid the appointment of members of the legislature to salaried offices, and (2) to widen the franchise so that *one man out of twenty* could vote. Guizot smothered both proposals. Finally the Liberals began to appeal to that vast part of the nation that had no vote. They planned a series of mass meetings, to bring public opinion to bear on the legislature. Guizot forbade these meetings — and brought on a revolution.

This "Revolution of 1848" was the work of the class of factory workers that had been growing up, almost unnoticed by political leaders of either party. Until 1825, when the Industrial Revolution was fairly complete in England, it had not begun upon the continent. Cloth manufactures there were still carried on under the "domestic system." *But in the next ten years, 5000 power-looms were installed in French factories; and in ten years more, the number had grown to 30,000.* By 1845, a large factory population had grown up in cities like Bordeaux, Lyons, Toulouse, and Paris. Moreover, more than the working class then in any other land, the alert, intellectually nimble French workmen were influenced by the new socialism. Their chief spokesman was *Louis Blanc*, an ardent young editor, who

"Place-men": organized corruption

Narrow electorate

The Liberals try to appeal to public opinion

The new "socialism" among the workmen of Paris

¹ The government appointed not only *national* officials (post officers, custom-house collectors, etc.) but also all *local* officers, like our county treasurers and city police.

preached especially "*the right to work.*" Every man, he urged, had a right to employment. To insure that right, he wished the nation to establish workshops in different trades and give employment in them to all who wished it and who could not get it elsewhere. (In the end, according to his plan, the workers would manage the workshops.)

Blanc was an unselfish, high-minded man, moved by deep pity for the suffering masses; and his proposals were urged with moderation of word and style. But among his followers there were a few crack-brained enthusiasts and some criminally selfish adventurers; and large numbers of the workingmen had adopted phrases, not only about the "right to work," but also about "the crime of private property," as a sort of religious creed. This class was now to appear as a political power.

The "February days"

In 1848 the Liberals appointed a monster political demonstration in Paris for February 22 — choosing that day in honor of the American celebration. At the last moment the government forbade the meeting. The leaders obeyed and stayed away; but the streets were filled all day with angry crowds, shouting "Down with Guizot!" The National Guards, when called out to disperse the mob, themselves took up the cry. The next day Guizot resigned.

The last of the Capetians

Peace seemed restored; but that night a collision occurred between some troops and the mob; and the Radicals seized the chance. The bodies of a few slain men were paraded through the poorer quarters of the city in carts, while fervid orators called the people to rise against a monarchy that massacred French citizens. By the morning of the 24th, the streets bristled with barricades and the mob was marching on the Tuileries. Louis Philippe fled to England, disguised as a "Mr. Smith." The "February days" saw the end of the thousand-year old Capetian monarchy.

The Provisional Government of 1848

The mob had taken up the cry for a republic. Before dispersing, a few liberal members of the legislature had appointed a radical committee as a "Provisional Government" — with Lamartine, the poet-historian, as its guiding force. This body of course was to call a convention to make a new constitution;

but meantime it must govern France, and especially it must at once restore order, bury the dead, care for the wounded, and secure food for the great city, wherein all ordinary business had ceased, — all this with no police force at its call.

The first session (begun while the mob was still flourishing bloody butcher-knives in the legislative hall) lasted sixty hours. One hundred thousand revolutionists still packed the street without, and “delegations” repeatedly forced their way in, to make wild demands. Said one spokesman: “We demand the extermination of property and of capitalists; the instant establishment of community of goods; the proscription of the rich, the merchants, those of every condition above that of wage-earners; . . . and finally the acceptance of the red flag, to signify to society its defeat, to the people its victory, to all foreign governments invasion.”

Lamartine grew faint with exhaustion and want of food. His face was scratched by a bayonet thrust. But his fine courage and wit and persuasive eloquence won victory. To help appease the mob, however, the Government hastily adopted a number of radical decrees, writing them hurriedly upon scraps of paper and throwing them from a window to the crowd. One declared France a Republic. Another abolished the House of Peers. Still others established manhood suffrage, shortened the working day to ten hours, and affirmed the duty of the state to give every man a chance to work.

A few days later, the decree recognizing the “right to work” was given more specific meaning by the establishment of “national workshops” (on paper) for the unemployed. In the business panic that followed the Revolution, great numbers of men had been thrown out of work. The government now organized these men in Paris, as they applied, into a “workshop army,” in brigades, companies, and squads, — paying full wages to all it could employ and a three-fourths wage to those obliged to remain idle. Over one hundred thousand men, many of them from other cities, were soon enrolled in this way; but, except for a little work on the streets, *the government had no employment ready for such a number.* The experiment was not

The “workshop” army

in any sense a fair trial of the socialistic idea: it was a way of keeping order and of feeding a destitute army of the unemployed.

The new
Assembly

The Paris
workmen
crushed

A new "Constituent Assembly," elected by manhood suffrage, met May 4. The Revolution, like that of 1830, had been confined to Paris. The rest of France had not cared to interfere in behalf of Louis Philippe, but it felt no enthusiasm for a republic and it abhorred the "Reds" and the socialists. This, too, was the temper of the Assembly. It accepted the Revolution, but it was bent upon putting down the Radicals. Almost its first work (after making military preparation) was to abolish the workshop army — without notice and without any provision for the absorption of the men into other employments. A conservative French statesman has styled this "a brutal, unjust, blundering end to a foolish experiment." The men of the workshop army rose. They comprised the great body of the workingmen of Paris, and they were aided by their semi-military organization. The conflict raged for four days, — the most terrible struggle that even turbulent Paris had ever witnessed. Twenty thousand men perished; but in the outcome, the superior discipline and equipment of the Assembly's troops crushed the socialists. Eleven thousand prisoners were slaughtered in cold blood or transported for life — another of those cruel and senseless "White Terrors" which develop bitter class hatreds.

The Con-
stitution of
" the
Second
Republic "

The Assembly now turned to its work of making a constitution. The document was made public in November. It was not submitted to a popular vote. It provided for a legislature of one house, and for a four-year president, both to be chosen by manhood suffrage. A month later, *Louis Napoleon*, a nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, was elected president of this "Second French Republic" by an overwhelming majority.

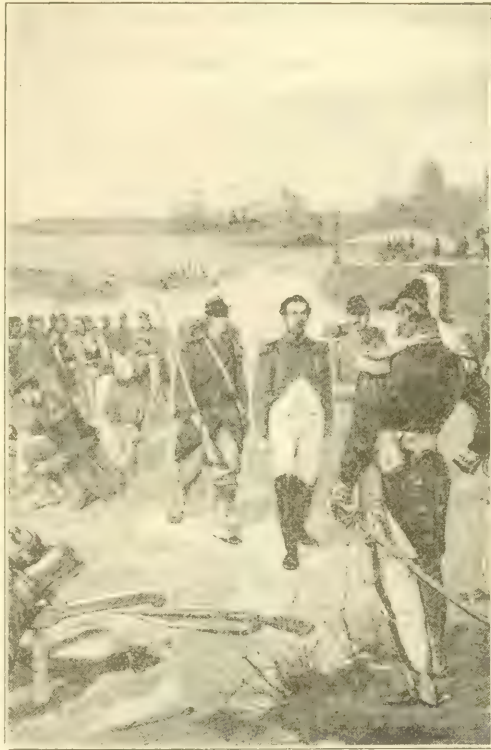
" The
Napoleonic
legend "

Napoleon's political capital was his name. A group of brilliant propagandists of whom, strangely enough, Thiers was chief, had created a "Napoleonic legend," representing the rule of the First Napoleon as a period of glory and prosperity, broken only by wars forced upon France by the jealousy of other rulers. These ideas had become a blind faith for great masses in France.

Louis Napoleon had long believed that he was destined to revive the rule of his family. Twice in the early years of Louis Philippe's reign he had tried to stir up a Napoleonic revolution, only to become a laughing-stock to Europe. But now to the peasantry and the middle class, alarmed by the specter of socialism, his name seemed the symbol of order.

II. CENTRAL EUROPE IN '48

'Forty-eight was "the year of revolutions." In January, Metternich, now an old man, wrote to a friend, "The world is very sick. The one thing certain is that tremendous changes are coming." A month later, the *February rising* in Paris gave the signal for *March risings* in other lands. Metternich fled from Vienna hidden in a laundry cart; and all over Europe thrones tottered — except in stable free England on the west, and in stable despotic Russia and Turkey on the east. Within a few days, in Holland, Spain, Denmark, and Sweden, to save their crowns, the kings granted new constitutions and many liberties. In every one of the German states, large or small, the rulers did the like. So, too, in Italy in the leading states, — Sardinia, Tuscany, Rome, and Naples. In all these countries the administration passed for a time to the hands of liberal ministries pledged to reform.



The
"March
days" in
Central
Europe

LOUIS NAPOLEON AT BOULOGNE. — This painting by Carl Deutsch commemorates one of Napoleon's ludicrous attempts to arouse a rebellion in his favor during the rule of Louis Philippe. After this "invasion," he was kept in prison for some years.

A. THE REVOLUTION IN THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE

The Revolution in the Austrian realms

March 13, two weeks after the French rising, the students of the University of Vienna and the populace of the city rose in street riots, calling for a constitution. The emperor promised this and other reforms, and appointed a liberal ministry.

But the Austrian Empire was a vast conglomerate. It included many peoples and several distinct states. The Austrians proper were Germans. They made the bulk of the inhabitants in the old duchy of Austria, and they were the ruling class elsewhere in the Empire. Still they made up less than one fourth of all the inhabitants. In Bohemia *the bulk* of the people were the *native Slavs* (Czechs); and in the eastern half of the Empire, the Hungarians were dominant. *Hungary itself, however, was also a conglomerate state.* In its border districts, the *Slav* peoples (Croats, Serbs, Slavonians) made the larger part of the population.

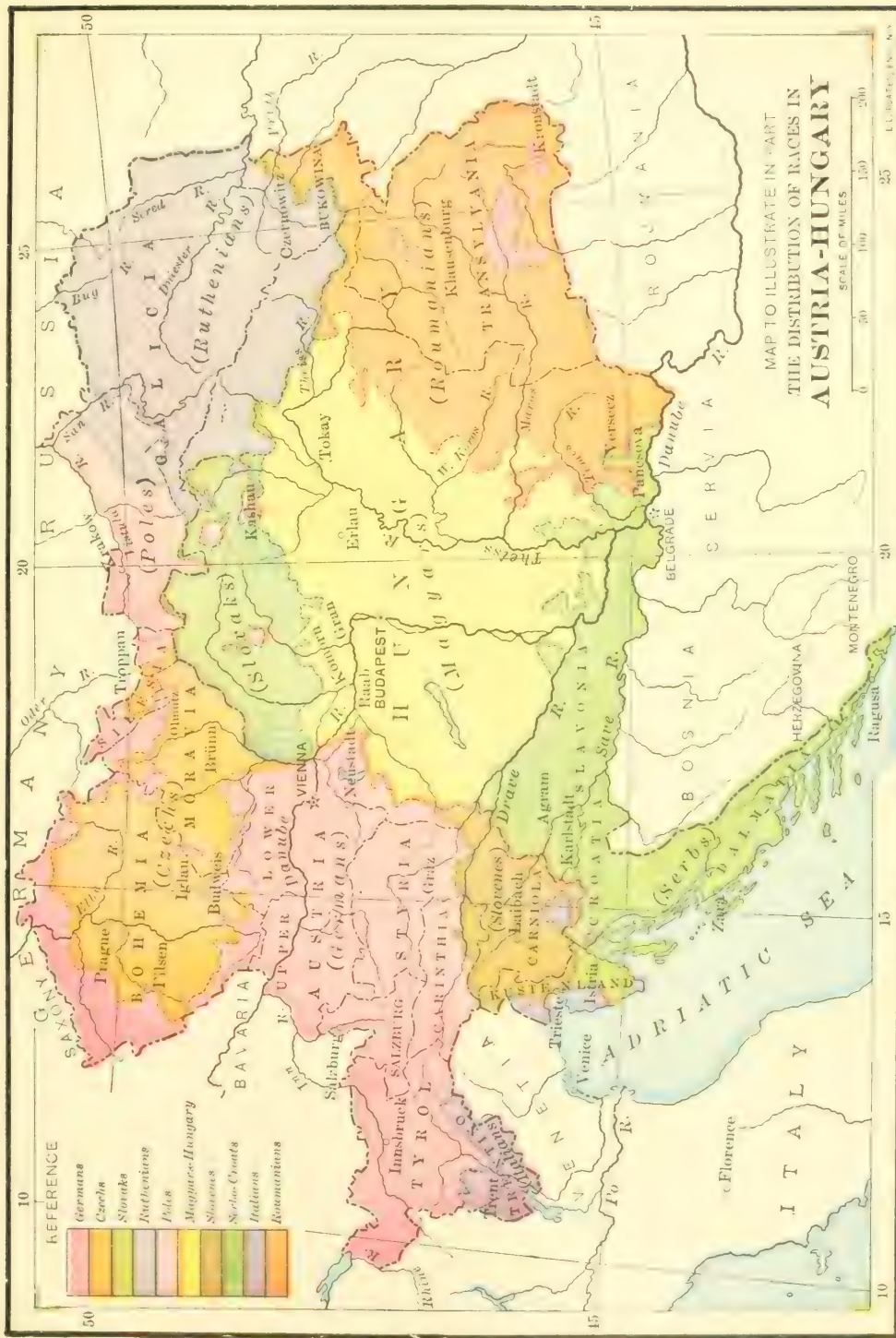
In Bohemia and Hungary the March risings were not merely for constitutional government but also for Bohemian and Hungarian home rule. The emperor skillfully conciliated both states by granting constitutional governments with a large measure of home-rule and the official use of their own languages (instead of German); and then he used the time so gained to crush national movements in Italy (pp. 489-490).

Race jealousies aid autocracy

He had no intention, however, of keeping his sworn promises, and *race jealousy* quickly played into his hand. The German Liberals dreaded Slav rule, especially in Bohemia, where many Germans lived. Soon, disturbances there between the two races gave the emperor excuse to interfere; and, in July (the army now ready) the emperor replaced the constitution he had just given to Bohemia by military rule. Alarmed at this sign of reaction, the Radicals rose again in Vienna, and got possession of the city (October); but the triumphant army (recalled from Bohemia) captured the capital after a savage bombardment. Then absolutism was restored in the central government also.

The Hungarian Republic falls

Hungary remained to be dealt with. Here, too, race jealousies aided despotism. The Slavs wanted independence from the Hungarians; and if they had to be subject at all, they preferred



German rule from distant Vienna rather than Hungarian rule from Budapest. The Hungarians discovered that the emperor had been fomenting a rebellion of the Croats against them; and accordingly they declared Hungary a republic, chose the hero *Kossuth* president, and waged a gallant war for full independence. But the Tsar in accordance with the compact between the monarchs of the Holy Alliance, sent a Russian army of 150,000 men to aid Austria, and Hungary was crushed (April–August, 1849).

It remained only for Austria to reestablish her authority in Germany, which had been left for a time to the Liberals.

B. IN GERMANY

Even Prussia in '48 had its scenes of blood and slaughter. In Berlin, from March 13 to March 18, excited middle-class crowds thronged the streets; and on the last of these days, in some way never clearly understood, a sharp conflict took place with the troops. The army inflicted terrible slaughter on the unorganized citizens; but Frederick William IV was neither resolute enough nor cold-hearted enough to follow up his victory. To pacify the people, he sent into temporary exile his brother William, who had commanded the troops; and he took part in a procession in honor of the slain, wearing the red, gold, and black colors of the German patriots. Then he called a Prussian parliament to draw up a constitution, and declared his purpose to put himself at the head of the movement for German national union.

**The March
Revolution
in Prussia**

Meantime, a "people's movement" for German unity had got under way. Early in March, prominent German Liberals gathered at Heidelberg and called a German National Assembly; and May 18 at Frankfort the first representative Assembly of Germany came together. But unhappily even this gathering did not really represent the whole German people, but only a small middle class of "intellectuals." The nobility — with a few rare exceptions — held wholly aloof, and the peasantry were too slavish to have any sympathy with the movement.

**The
Frankfort
Assembly**

The Assembly was made up, too, of pedants and theorists,

inexperienced in public affairs; and it wasted six precious months in debating a bill of rights — while all chance of winning rights was slipping away. Over all Germany the commercial class was growing hostile, because of the long-continued business panic; and the vacillating Prussian king had dissolved the new Prussian parliament he had called — *giving* to Prussia instead a very conservative “divine-right” constitution. In other German states, too, the rulers were overthrowing liberal ministries that had been set up in the March days.

1848
In October, the Frankfort Assembly took up the work of making a *national* constitution. It wrangled through the fall and winter (1) as to whether the new Germany should be a republic or a monarchy, and (2) whether it should or should not include despotic Austria. Meantime Austria at last got her hands free, and announced bluntly that she would permit no union into which she did not enter (with all her non-German provinces).

The people's
movement
fails

Then the Radicals gave up the impossible republic, and at last the Assembly decided for a consolidated “German Empire,” offering the imperial crown to Frederick William of Prussia. But it was six months too late. The Prussian king felt a growing aversion to the movement which, a few months before, he had called “the glorious German revolution”; and, after some hesitation, he declined the crown “bespattered with the blood and mire of revolution.” In despair the Radicals then resorted to arms to set up a republic. They were promptly crushed; the National Assembly vanished in the spring of 1849; and many German Liberals, like Carl Schurz, fled, for their lives, to America. The “people’s” attempt to make a German nation had failed.

The “Hu-
miliation of
Olmütz”

Frederick William then put himself at the head of a half-hearted “league” of twenty-eight *princes* of North Germany. Austria insisted that this league dissolve. Austrian and Prussian troops met, but the Prussian army was ill-prepared; and finally Frederick William made ignominious submission in a conference at Olmütz (November, 1850). *Austria then restored the Germanic Confederation of 1815.*

C. THE REVOLUTION OF '48 IN ITALY

Italy had been in fragments for more than thirteen hundred years — though there had always been ardent patriots to dream of a new Italian nation. Napoleon reduced the number of petty states somewhat; and when the European coalition was struggling with Napoleon, an English force landed at Genoa, with its flag inscribed "Italian Liberty and Independence." At the same time Austrian proclamations announced to the Italians, "We come to you as liberators. . . . You shall be an independent nation."

The Congress of Vienna ignored these promises. Even the Napoleonic improvements were undone. Lombardy and Venetia became Austrian provinces (p. 449), and most of the rest of the peninsula was handed over to Austrian influence. Bourbon rule was restored in the south over the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Dukes, dependent upon Austria, were set up in Tuscany, Modena, and Parma. Between these duchies and Naples lay the restored Papal States, with the government in close sympathy with Austria. True, the northwest was given back to the Kingdom of Sardinia under a native line of monarchs, to whom the people were loyally attached; but even there until 1848 the government was a military despotism. "Italy," said Metternich complacently, "is a mere geographical expression."

Italy and
the Con-
gress of
Vienna

The story of the Italian revolutions of 1820 and the Holy Alliance has been told. In 1830, after the July Revolution in Paris, new revolutions broke out in the Papal States and the small duchies, but these movements also were soon put down by Austria. The ten years from 1830 to 1840, however, did see the organization of the widespread secret society, "Young Italy," by Mazzini. Mazzini was a lawyer of Genoa and a revolutionary enthusiast who was to play, in freeing Italy, a part somewhat like that of Garrison and Phillips in preparing for the American Civil War. His words and writings worked wonderfully upon the younger Italians of the educated classes for a united Italian Republic.

"Young
Italy"

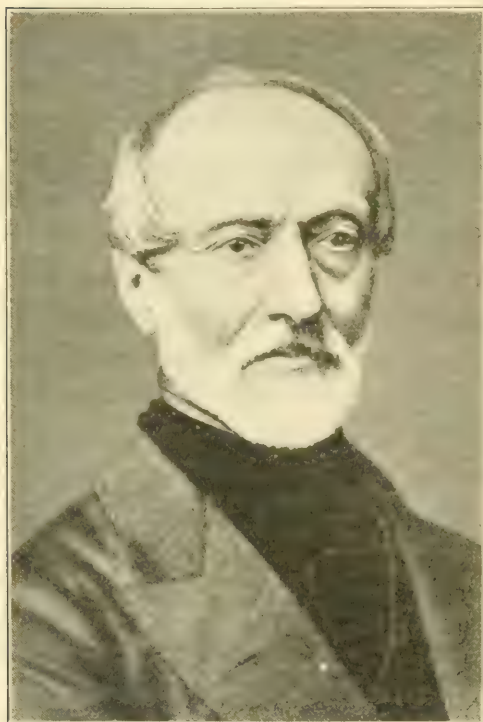
Thus when the revolutions of 1848 broke out, Italy was ready

Italian
revolutions
in '48

to strike. In 1820–1821, the extremities of the peninsula had been shaken; in 1830, the middle states; in 1848, there was no foot of Italian soil not convulsed; and this time the revolutionists sought *union* as ardently as *freedom*. On the news of Metternich's flight, Milan and Venice drove out their Austrian garrisons. Then Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, gave his people a constitution and put himself at the head of a movement to expel Austria. The pope and the rulers of Tuscany and Naples promised loyal aid. Venice and other small states

in the north voted enthusiastically for incorporation into Sardinia.

Defeats at
Custoza
and Novara



JOSEPH MAZZINI.

But the king of Naples was dishonest in his promises; and even the liberal and patriotic pope (Pius IX) was not ready to break fully with Austria. Except for a few thousand volunteer soldiers, Charles Albert got no help from Italy south of Lombardy; and, July 15, 1848, he was defeated at *Custoza*. Then the movement passed into the hands of the Radicals. Venice and Florence each set up a republic; and in February, 1849, the citizens of

Rome, led by Mazzini, drove away the pope and proclaimed the "Roman Republic."

These republican movements succeeded, for the hour, only because Austria was busied in Bohemia and Hungary (p. 486). But soon a strong Austrian army was sent to Italy. Charles Albert took the field once more, but was defeated decisively at *Novara* (March, 1849); and Venice was captured in August

after gallant resistance. Louis Napoleon restored the pope to his Roman principality, and left a French garrison there for his protection during the next twenty years, to 1870.

But, unlike Germany, Italy had failed only because of crushing interference from without; and the splendid attempt had proved that "United Italy" had become the passionate faith of a whole people.

This well-grounded faith for a free Italy, and for a free Europe, was finely spoken to the world by Mazzini, with splendid courage, in the very hour of discouraging defeat. Mazzini had barely escaped with his life; but in 1849, from his refuge in England, while less fortunate associates were dying in Italy on scaffolds and under tortures in dungeons, he uttered to the exultant forces of reaction a clear-sounding challenge:

Mazzini's
challenge to
victorious
reaction

"Our victory is certain; I declare it with the profoundest conviction, here in exile, and precisely when monarchical reaction appears most insolently secure. What matters the triumph of an hour? What matters it that by concentrating all your means of action, availing yourselves of every artifice, turning to your account those prejudices and jealousies of race which yet for a while endure, and spreading distrust, egotism, and corruption, you have repulsed our forces and restored the former order of things? *Can you restore men's faith in it, or do you think you can long maintain it by brute force alone, now that all faith in it is extinct? . . . Threatened and undermined on every side, can you hold all Europe forever in a state of siege?*"

FOR FURTHER READING ON 1848. — Hazen's *Europe Since 1815*, 152-186. Andrews and Seignobos have good accounts; Phillips' *European History, 1815-1899*, is excellent for 1848.

CHAPTER LII

FROM THE YEAR OF REVOLUTIONS TO THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

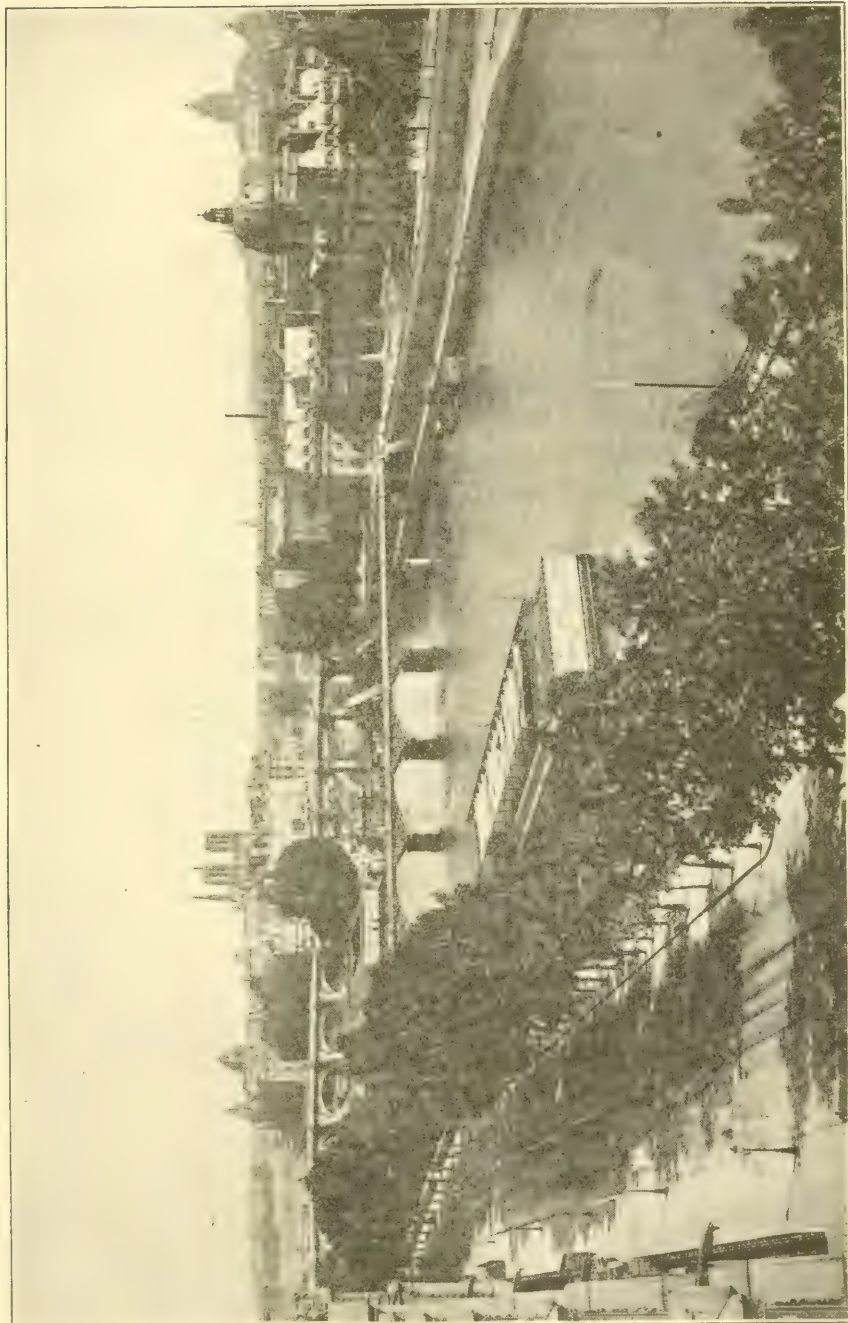
Except to the few men of faith, the risings of '48 seemed to have been in vain. True, feudalism was at last gone forever, even from Austria, and the Holy Alliance was finally disrupted by the rivalry between Prussia and Austria. But in government, the "restoration" appeared complete. The Revolution had closed in Italy with Novara (March, 1849), in the Austrian realms with the fall of the Hungarian Republic (July, 1849), and in Germany with the "humiliation of Olmütz" (November, 1850). In France it was swiftly going, and was to disappear in 1851 (p. 493). For the next generation, interest on the continent centered in three lands,— France, Italy, Germany. And of these only Italy made true progress.

I. FRANCE: THE SECOND EMPIRE, 1852-1870

The shame
of France:
"Napoleon
the Little"

In 1830 and in 1848, France had led liberal Europe; but for the next twenty years after she had crushed so bloodily the workingmen of Paris, her story is one of shame. Louis Napoleon, President of the Republic, was constantly at loggerheads with the Assembly. From the first, he plotted to overthrow the republican constitution — to which he had sworn fidelity — and to make himself master of France. The Assembly played into his hand. In 1849 it passed a reactionary law which disfranchised a large part of the workingmen of the cities. *After the law had been passed*, Napoleon criticized it vehemently, so as to appear to the workingmen as their champion. At the same time, the discontent of the artisans made the middle class fear a revolution; and that class turned to Napoleon as the sole hope for order. Thus the chief elements in the state dreaded the approaching close of Napoleon's presidency.

PLATE LXXXVI



A VIEW OF PARIS, taken from the Louvre. The cathedral far to the left is Notre Dame. The Paris Pantheon (with its dome) shows on the right. The central portions of old European cities (built up solidly before the age of Bessemer steel) rarely show "sky-scrapers." Cf. cut after p. 472.

The constitution forbade a reëlection; and an attempt to amend this clause was defeated by the Assembly. Thus that body had now seriously offended both the artisan class and the middle class, and Napoleon could overthrow it with impunity. All important offices were put into the hands of his tools and his trusted friends; and on December 2, 1851, he carried out the most striking coup d'état in all French history.

The coup
d'état

During the preceding night, some eighty men whose opposition was especially feared — journalists, generals, and leaders in the Assembly — were privately arrested and imprisoned; and all the printing offices in the city were seized by Napoleon's troops. In the morning the amazed people found the city posted with startling placards announcing the dissolution of the Assembly and the establishment of a new government with Napoleon at its head. The Assembly tried to meet, but was dispersed. During the following days a few Radicals began to raise barricades here and there in the streets; but these were carried by the troops with pitiless slaughter; batches of prisoners were shot down after surrender; the Radical districts of France were put under martial law; and thousands of men were transported to penal settlements, virtually without trial.

A few days later, the country was invited to vote Yes or No upon a new constitution making Napoleon president for ten years with dictatorial power. France "ratified" this proposal by a vote of seven and a half millions out of eight millions; and in November of 1852, a nearly unanimous vote made the daring adventurer Emperor of the French, under the title Napoleon III. (The Bonapartists counted the son of Napoleon I as Napoleon II, though he never reigned.)

Ratified by
France

The "Second Empire" was modeled closely upon that of Napoleon I. During its early years, *political life* was suspended. The people, it is true, elected a Legislative Chamber, but that body could consider no bill that had not been put before it by the Emperor and his Council. Its function was merely to register edicts.

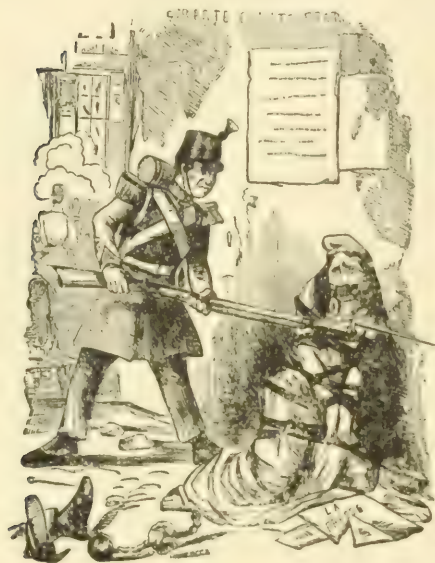
"Elec-
tions"
under the
Empire

At the election of a "legislature," too, the government presented for every position an "official candidate," for whom

the way was made easy. Opposing candidates could not hold public meetings, nor hire the distribution of circulars. They were seriously hampered even in the use of the mails, and their placards were torn down by the police, or industriously covered by the official bill-poster for the government candidate.

The ballot boxes, too, were supervised by the *police*. Moreover Napoleon subsidized a large number of newspapers, and suppressed all that were unfavorable to him.

Personal liberty, also, was wholly at the mercy of the government. The servants of prominent men were likely to be the paid spies of the police. Under the "Law of Public Security" (1858), Napoleon could *legally* send "suspects," *without trial*, to linger through a slow death in tropical penal colonies (as he had been doing *illegally* before).



"FRANCE IS TRANQUIL" (a favorite phrase with Napoleon III). A cartoon from *Harper's Magazine*.

No personal
liberty

Napoleon
accepted by
France

Because of
"pros-
perity"

Still Napoleon seems honestly to have deceived himself into the belief that he was "a democratic chief." His government, he insisted, rested upon manhood suffrage in elections and plebiscites. In partial recompense for loss of liberty, too, he gave to France great material progress. Industry was encouraged. Leading cities were rebuilt upon a more magnificent scale; and Paris, with widened streets, shaded boulevards, and glorious public buildings, was made the most beautiful capital in the world. Asylums and hospitals were founded; schools were encouraged, and school libraries were established; and vast public works throughout the Empire afforded employment to the working classes. France secured her full share of the increase of wealth and comfort that came to the world so rapidly during those years. The shame is that France was

bribed to accept the despicable despotism of Napoleon by this prosperity — and by the tinsel sham of “glory” in war.

In 1852 Napoleon had declared, “The Empire is Peace”; but, in order to keep the favor of the army and of the populace by reviving the glories of the First Empire, he was impelled to war. For forty years, — ever since the fall of Napoleon I, — Europe had been free from great wars. Napoleon III reintroduced them, and for a time his victories dazzled France, especially in the *Crimean* and the *Italian* wars.

And military glory

1. In 1854 Russia and Turkey were at war in the Black Sea. Through Napoleon’s intrigues, France and England joined Turkey. The struggle was waged mainly in Crimea, and took its name from that peninsula. Russia was defeated. No important permanent results were achieved; but Napoleon gathered representatives of all the leading Powers at the Congress of Paris to make peace, and France seemed again to have become the arbiter in European politics.

The Crimean War, 1854-6

2. In 1859 Napoleon joined the Kingdom of Sardinia in a war against Austria to free Italy. He won striking victories at Magenta and Solferino, near the scene of the early triumphs of the First Napoleon over the same foe, — and then he made unexpected peace, to the dismay and wrath of the half-freed Italians. For his pay, Napoleon forced Italy to cede him the provinces of Nice and Savoy (pp. 424, 449).

The Italian War of 1859

But the second half of Napoleon’s rule was a series of humiliations and blunders. (1) Napoleon favored the Southern Confederacy in the American Civil War, and repeatedly urged England, in vain, to unite with him in acknowledging it as an independent state. (2) In 1863 he entered upon a disastrous scheme to overthrow the Mexican Republic and to set up as “Emperor of Mexico” his protégé, Maximilian, an Austrian prince, brother of the Austrian Emperor. Napoleon expected to secure a larger share of the Mexican trade for France, and to forward a union of the Latin peoples of Europe and America, under French leadership. His act was a defiance of the Monroe Doctrine of the United States, but his purpose seemed trium-

Blunders in Napoleon’s later foreign policy

phant until the close of the American Civil War. Then the government of the United States demanded the withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico. Napoleon was obliged to comply. (Soon afterwards Maximilian was overthrown by the Mexicans, captured, and shot.) (3) More serious still were a number of checks in Napoleon's attempts on the Rhine frontier. That story will be told a little later.

II. THE MAKING OF ITALY, 1849-1861

Victor Em-
manuel II

Meantime Italy had been made. The night after Novara (p. 490), Charles Albert abdicated the crown of Sardinia, and his son, *Victor Emmanuel II*, became king. The young prince was an intense patriot. A popular story told how, as he rallied his shattered regiment at the close of the fatal day of Novara, and withdrew sullenly from the bloody field, covering the retreat, he shook his clenched fist at the victorious Austrian ranks with the solemn vow,—“By the Almighty, my Italy shall yet be!”

The new king was put at once to a sharp test. His father had given to the kingdom a liberal constitution (p. 490). Austria demanded that Victor abolish it. If he would do so, he could have easy terms of peace, with Austrian military support against any revolt. At the same time the inexperienced Sardinian parliament was embarrassing him by foolish opposition and criticism. Victor Emmanuel nobly refused the Austrian bribe, and had to submit to severe terms from Austria and a heavy indemnity. But a frank appeal to his people for support gave him a new loyal parliament, which ratified the peace, and his conduct won him the title of “the Honest King.”

Cavour

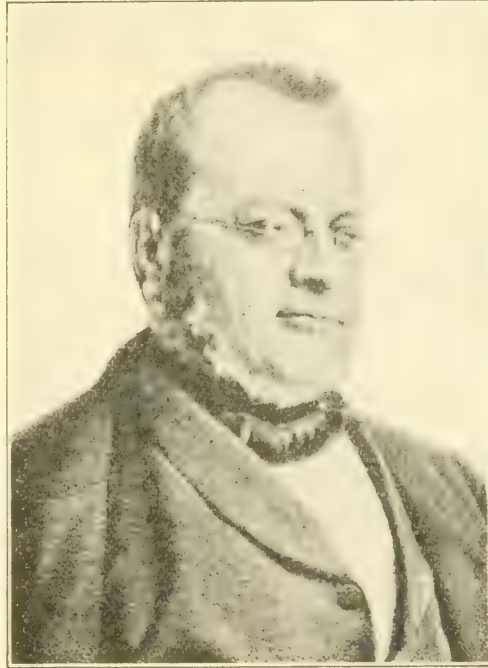
Austria, which Sardinia wished to expel from Italy, had 37,000,000 people. Sardinia was poor and had only 5,000,000 people. The king and his great minister, Cavour, bent all energies to strengthening Sardinia for another struggle and to securing allies outside Italy. Victor Emmanuel was a soldier. Cavour was the statesman whose brain was to guide the making of Italy. The king's part was loyally and steadily to support him. Exiles and fugitive Liberals from other Italian states were welcomed at the Sardinian court and were often given high

and Piedmont (Sardinia)

office there, so that the government seemed to belong to the whole peninsula. Cavour carried through the parliament many social reforms; and, in 1854, he sent a small but excellent Sardinian army to assist the allies against Russia in the Crimean War (p. 495). Many friendly Liberals condemned this last act as immoral. But Cavour at least had a political reason. He wished to prove that Sardinia was a military power, and to win a place for her in European conferences.

And the
Crimean
War

At the Congress of Paris in 1856 (p. 495) this policy bore fruit. Cavour sat there in full equality with the representatives of the Great Powers; and, despite Austria's protests, he secured attention for a convincing statement of the needs of Italy.



Cavour at
the Con-
gress of
Paris

CAVOUR. — From Desmason's lithograph.

Upon all minds he impressed forcefully that *Italian unrest could never cease, nor European peace be secure, so long as Austria remained in the peninsula.*

Three years later this diplomatic game was won. As a young man, Louis Napoleon had been involved in the plots of 1830 for Italian freedom. Cavour now drew him into a secret alliance. In return for a pledge of Nice and Savoy, which had once been French, Napoleon promised to come to the aid of Sardinia if Cavour could provoke Austria into beginning a war.

The French
alliance

Austria played into Cavour's hand by demanding, as a war ultimatum, that Italy reduce her army. Napoleon at once entered Italy, declaring his purpose to free it "from the Alps to the Adriatic." His victories of Magenta and Solferino

Sardinia
absorbs
Lombardy

(p. 495) drove Austria forever out of Lombardy, which was promptly incorporated into Sardinia. *This was the first step in the expansion of Sardinia into Italy.* The population of the growing state had risen at a stroke from five millions to eight. *Venetia remained in Austria's hands*, but Napoleon suddenly made peace. He had no wish that Italy should be one strong, consolidated nation; and he began to see that a *free* Italy would be a *united* Italy.

Sardinia ab-
sorbs the
duchies

The Italians felt that they had been betrayed by "the infamous treaty";¹ but more had already been accomplished than the mere freeing of Lombardy. At the beginning of the war, the peoples of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany had driven out their dukes (dependents of Austria), and voted for incorporation in Sardinia. At the peace, Napoleon had promised Austria that the dukes should be restored, but he had stipulated that Austria should not use force against the duchies. For eight months this situation continued, while Cavour played a second delicate diplomatic game with Napoleon, finally persuading him to leave the matter to a plebiscite. In March, 1860, the three duchies by almost unanimous vote declared again for annexation. *This was the second step in expansion*, — and the first example in Europe of "self-determination," as we now use the phrase. Sardinia was enlarged once more by one third. It had now become a state of eleven million people.

Garibaldi
adds South
Italy

The next advance was due in its beginning to Garibaldi (a gallant republican soldier in the Revolution of 1848), who had now given his allegiance loyally to Victor Emmanuel. In May, 1860, Garibaldi sailed from Genoa with a thousand red-shirted fellow-adventurers, to arouse rebellion in Sicily. Cavour thought it needful to make a show of trying to stop the expedition; but Garibaldi landed safely, won Sicily and South Italy almost without bloodshed, and, with universal acclaim, proclaimed Victor Emmanuel "King of Italy."

By this third step, "Sardinia" had expanded into "Italy," with a population of twenty-two millions. In February of

¹ Read James Russell Lowell's *Villafranca*, to get an idea of the wrath of freedom-loving men at Napoleon's betrayal.

1861 the first "Italian parliament" met at Turin and enthusiastically confirmed the establishment of the "Kingdom of Italy." Cavour's statesmanship was triumphant. Five months later, the great minister was dead, broken down by the terrible strain of his work. His last words were, "Italy is made — all is safe."

Rome, with some adjoining territory remained the dominion of the pope; and Venetia was still Austrian. The acquisition of these two provinces by Italy was intertwined with the making of Germany.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Bolton King's *Italian Unity* is the best single work. Good accounts will be found in Probyn's *Italy*, Bolton King's *Mazzini*, Dicey's *Victor Emmanuel*, or Cesaresco's *Cavour*. Hayes, Hazen, Andrews, Seignobos, all contain brief treatments.

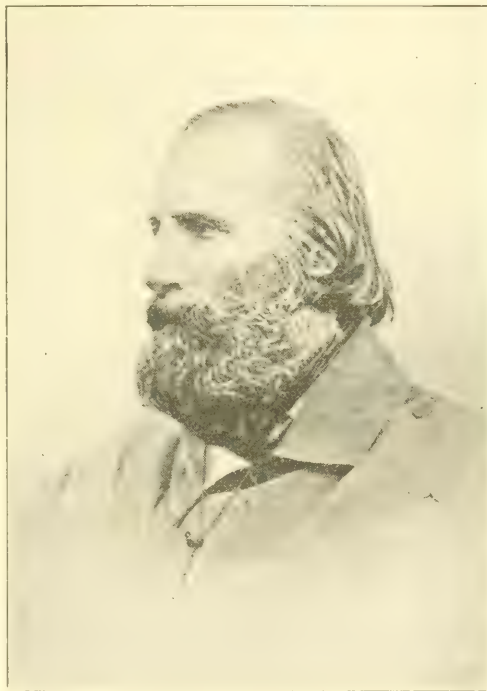
EXERCISE. — Trace the expansion of Sardinia on map facing p. 632.
SPECIAL REPORT. — Garibaldi's life and adventures.

III. THE MAKING OF GERMANY, 1861-1871

Napoleon III ruled France for some twenty years. During the first ten years, Cavour made the Kingdom of Italy. Dur-

William I of Prussia

¹ JOSEPH GARIBALDI (1807-1882) had been active in the plots of secret societies against Austrian rule before 1830. When the revolutions of that year failed, he escaped to South America, to fight for liberty in various struggles in that continent. Forty-eight called him back to Italy, where he fought, beside Mazzini, for a Roman republic. Fleeing to New York, he earned a living for some years as a candle-maker. He came back to Italy to fight for freedom in the war of 1859 and the text tells his famous exploit of 1860. Ten years later he fought for France against Prussian conquest, (p. 544), and then spent the remaining years of his life on a small country estate. The photograph pictures him in this closing period.



GARIBALDI.¹

ing the next ten, Bismarck, by far less justifiable methods, was to make a German Empire.

"Forty-nine" had shown Prussia as the only nucleus in that day for a German nation; and even from Prussia nothing could be expected as long as Frederick William IV reigned. But in 1861 that king was succeeded by his brother, *William I*. This was the prince who had been banished for a time in 1848 to satisfy the Liberals (p. 487). That party had nicknamed him "Prince Cartridge." He was a conservative of the old school, and he had bitterly opposed the mild constitutional concessions of his brother. But he had tingled with indignation at the humiliation of Olmütz; and he hoped with all his heart for German unity. He believed that this unity could be made only after expelling Austria from Germany. To expel Austria would be the work of the Prussian army.

The Prus-
sian army
system

The Prussian army differed from all others in Europe. Elsewhere the armies were of the old class, — standing bodies of mercenaries and professional soldiers, reinforced at need by raw levies from the population. The Napoleonic wars had resulted in a different system for Prussia. In 1807, after Jena, Napoleon had required Prussia to reduce her army to forty-two thousand men. The Prussian government, however, had evaded Napoleon's purpose to keep her weak, by passing fresh bodies of Prussians through the regiments at short intervals. Each soldier was given only two years' service. Part of each regiment was dismissed each year and its place filled with new levies. These in turn took on regular military discipline, while those who had passed out were held as a reserve.

Neglected,
1815-1861

After the Napoleonic wars, Prussia kept up this system. The plan was to make the entire male population a trained army, but it had not been fully followed up. Since 1815, population had doubled, but the army had been left upon the basis of that period. No arrangements had been made for organizing new regiments; and so many thousand men each year reached military age without being summoned to the ranks.

King William's first efforts were directed to increasing the number of regiments so as to accommodate 60,000 new recruits

each year. To do this required a large increase in taxes. But the Prussian parliament (Landtag) was jealous of military power in the hands of a sovereign hostile to constitutional liberty, and it resolutely refused money. Then William found a minister to carry out his will, parliament or no.

This man, who was to be the German Cavour, was Otto von Bismarck. Thirteen years earlier, Count Bismarck had been known as a grim and violent leader of the "Junkers," the extreme conservative party made up of young landed aristocrats. When he was announced as the head of a new ministry, the Liberals ominously prophesied a *coup d'état*. Something like a *coup d'état* did take place. William stood steadfastly by his minister; and for four years Bismarck ruled and collected taxes unconstitutionally. Over and over again, the Landtag demanded his dismissal, and the Liberals threatened to hang him, — as very probably they would have done if power had fallen to them by another revolution. Bismarck in turn railed at them contemptuously as "mere pedants," and told them bluntly that the making of Germany was to be "a matter not of speechifying and parliamentary majorities, but of blood and iron." For years he grimly went on, muzzling the press, bullying or dissolving parliaments, and overriding the national will roughshod.

Otto von
Bismarck

The army
reorganized

Meantime, the army was greatly augmented, so that practically every able-bodied Prussian became a soldier with *three* years' training in camp. First of any large army, too, this new Prussian army was supplied with the new invention of breech-loading repeating rifles, instead of the old-fashioned muzzle-loaders; and *Von Moltke*, the Prussian "chief of staff," made it the most perfect military machine in Europe.

From the first, Bismarck intended that this reconstructed army should expel Austria from Germany and force the princes of the rest of Germany into a true national union. It had not been possible for him to *avow* his purpose; but time was growing precious, and he began to look anxiously for a chance to use his new tool. By a series of master-strokes of unscrupulous and daring diplomacy, he brought on three wars in the next seven years.

Bismarck's
"trilogy"
of wars

The Danish
War of 1864

1. Taking advantage of an obscure dispute, he induced Austria to join in seizing from Denmark the duchies of Sleswig and Holstein — to which neither robber state had the shadow of a claim.

The War
with Austria
(Six Weeks'
War) in
1866

2. He then forced Austria into war by insisting brazenly upon keeping all the booty for Prussia — although the German Diet almost unanimously declared war against Prussia as “the wanton disturber of the national peace.” In three days the Prussian army seized Hanover, Hesse, and Saxony, and in three weeks it crushed Austria at Sadowa in Bohemia. Prussia then consolidated her scattered territory by annexing Hesse, Hanover, Nassau, and Frankfort, along with Sleswig-Holstein. This raised her population to 30,000,000 (cf. maps after pp. 402, 502). Moreover, Austria was compelled to withdraw wholly from German affairs — in which Prussia was left without a rival — and the Confederation of 1815 was replaced by two federations. The first was the *North German Confederation* — not a loose league but a true federal state with much the same constitution as the later German Empire. The second was made up of four South German states (Bavaria and Württemberg the principal ones), organized like the old Confederation — of which indeed it was a survival.

The Franco-
Prussian
War, 1870-1

3. To fuse these two German leagues into one was the main purpose of Bismarck's third war. Before both the preceding struggles Bismarck had tricked Louis Napoleon into giving him a free hand — allowing Napoleon “to deceive himself” with the expectation that Prussia would permit France to annex Rhine territory in compensation for Prussia's gains. Napoleon now wrote to Bismarck, suggesting that France annex part of Bavaria. Bismarck was already planning war with France, and this proposal delivered Napoleon into his hands. He revealed it privately to the South German states, and it *terrified them into a secret alliance* with Prussia. Then Bismarck hurried on the clash with France with characteristic craft, not hesitating even to use practical forgery.¹

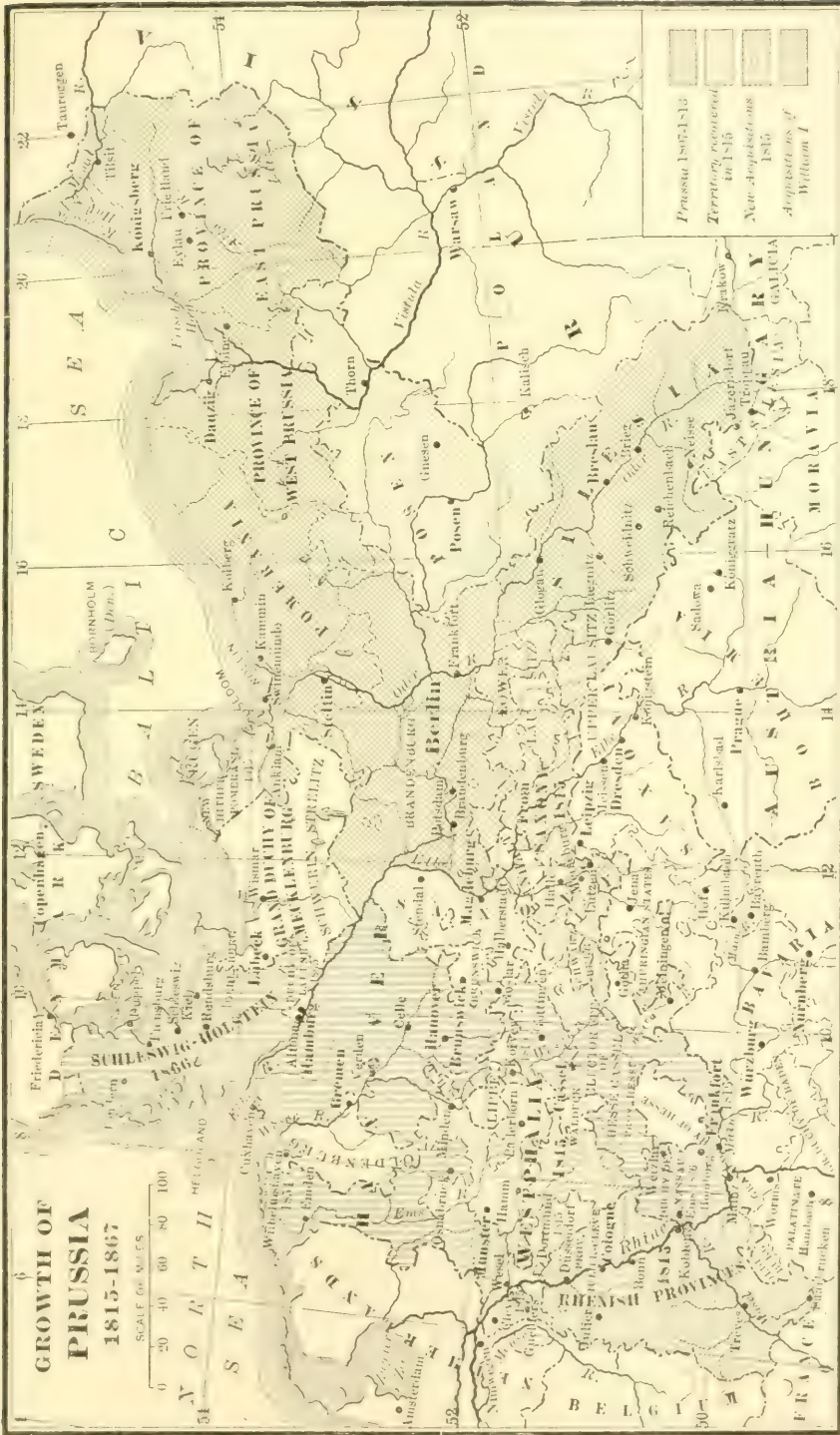
After all, however, Bismarck's trickery succeeded only be-

¹ See the story in some detail in West's *Modern Progress*, 420-1.

GROWTH OF PRUSSIA 1815-1867

SCALE IN MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100

- Prussia 1807-1-15
- Territory acquired in 1-15
- New Acquisitions 1850
- Acquisitions of William I



cause of the folly and envy of the rulers of France. French militarism looked with jealousy upon the rise of a German nation; and Napoleon was bent desperately upon retrieving his tottering reputation by dazzling victories. Thus Bismarck found it possible to irritate the French government into declaring war (July 19, 1870).

True, a few French statesmen had kept their heads, declaring that France was not ready for war. But Napoleon's war-minister answered such objections by the boast, "We are thrice ready, down to the last soldier's shoestring"; and France, which for centuries had never been beaten by *one* foe, shouted lightly-heartedly, "On to Berlin." The first attempts to move troops, however, showed that the French government was honey-combed with corruption and inefficiency.

The arrogance and inefficiency of Napoleon's government

Marked, indeed, was the contrast between this French inefficiency and the "German efficiency," now revealed to Europe. Twelve days after the declaration of war (August 1), Germany had massed one and a quarter million of trained troops on the Rhine. The world then had never seen such perfection of military preparation. Carlyle wrote, "It took away the breath of Europe." The Prussians won victory after victory. One of the two main French armies — 173,000 men — was securely shut up in Metz; September 2, the other, of 130,000 men, was captured at Sedan, with Napoleon in person;¹ and the Prussians pressed on to the siege of Paris.

"German efficiency" surprises the world

Out of the war clouds emerged a new German Empire. In the preceding war, after Sadowa, Bismarck suddenly found himself the idol of the Prussian Liberals who had been reviling and opposing him. When military autocracy had apparently proved profitable, they abandoned their old opposition to it. So now all Germany. The South-German peoples went wild with enthusiasm for Prussia. By a series of swift treaties, while this feeling was at its height, Bismarck brought them all into the North German Confederation. Then he arranged that the king of Bavaria and other leading German rulers should ask King

The German Empire

¹ Napoleon remained a prisoner of war for a few months, and soon afterward died in England.

PART XIII — ENGLAND, 1815-1914: REFORM WITHOUT REVOLUTION

England in the nineteenth century served as a political model for Europe. The English developed constitutional monarchy, parliamentary government, and safeguards for personal liberty. Other nations have only imitated them. — SEIGNOBOS.

CHAPTER LIII

THE "FIRST REFORM BILL," 1832

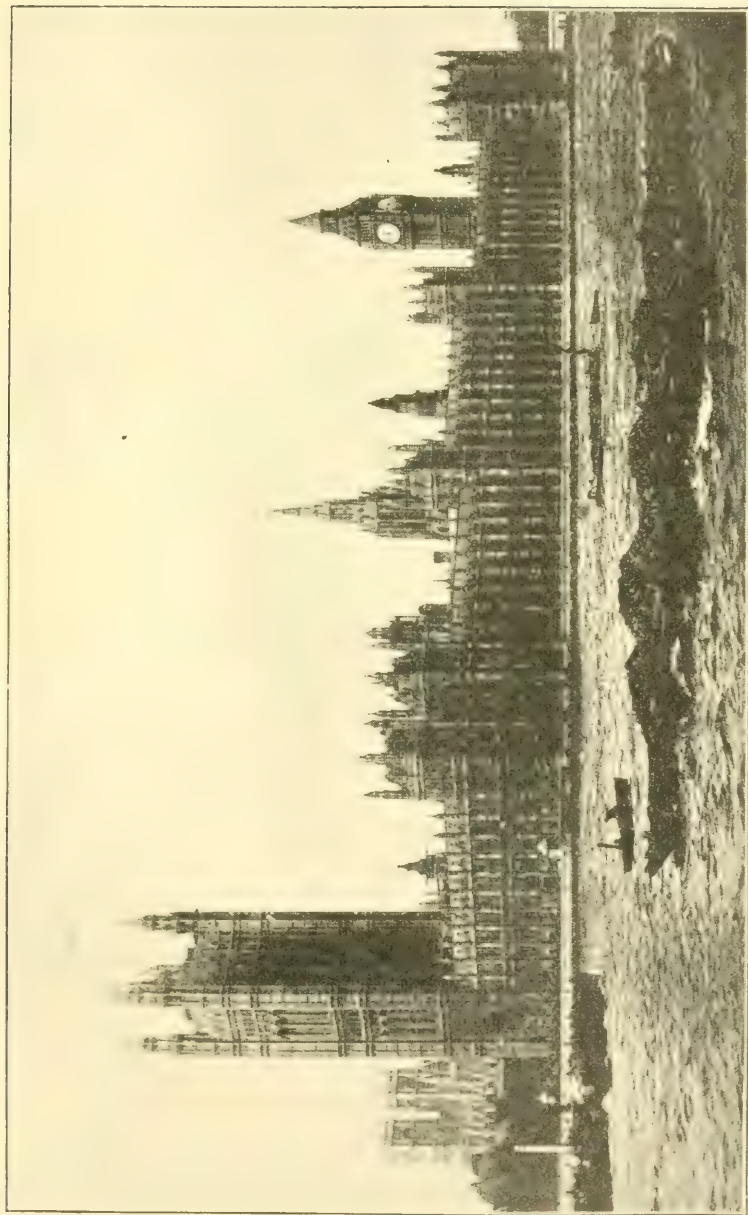
Political
retrogression of the
eighteenth
century

In the eighteenth century, we have seen, England acquired a world-empire and gave the world the Industrial Revolution. But, in political matters, that century was singularly uninteresting. Except for *accidental* progress in the matter of ministerial government (p. 383 ff.), England actually went backward politically. *Parliament* had never been democratic in make-up, and, after 1688, it *shrivelled up into the selfish organ of a small class of landlords.*

"Virtual
representation"

Ireland sent 100 members to the House of Commons, and Scotland 45. Each of the 40 English counties, large or small, sent two. The remaining four hundred came from "parliamentary boroughs" in England and Wales. The old kings had summoned representatives from whatever boroughs they pleased; but a borough which had once sent representatives had the right, by custom, to send them always afterward. At first the power to "summon" new boroughs was used wisely to recognize new towns as they grew up. But the Tudor monarchs, in order better to manage parliaments, had summoned representatives from many little hamlets — "pocket boroughs," owned or controlled by some lord of the court party.

PLATE LXXXVII



PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, London, seen from the Thames, with the twin towers of Westminster Abbey in the distance. See cut facing p. 514.

This bad condition was made worse by natural causes. In Elizabeth's time the south of England, with its fertile soil and its ports on the Channel, had been the most populous part; but in the eighteenth century, with the growth of manufactures, population shifted to the coal and iron regions of the north and west, where great cities grew up, like Birmingham, Bradford, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield. And these *new towns* had no representation in Parliament.

Unrepre-
sented cities

Conditions had become unspeakably unfair and corrupt. *Dunwich* was under the waves of the North Sea, which had gradually encroached upon the land. But a descendant of an ancient owner of the soil possessed the right to row out with the sheriff on election day and choose himself as representative to Parliament for the submerged town. *Old Sarum* was once a cathedral city on the summit of a lofty hill; but new Sarum, or Salisbury, a few miles away on the plain, drew the population and the cathedral to itself until not a vestige of the old town remained. Then the grandfather of William Pitt bought the soil where Old Sarum had stood, and it was for this "pocket borough" that the great Pitt entered Parliament. So, *Gatton* was a park, and *Corfe Castle* a picturesque ruin,—each with a representative in Parliament. Bosseney in Cornwall had three cottages. It had, however, nine voters, eight of them in one family; and these voters elected two members to Parliament. On the other hand, Portsmouth, with 46,000 people, had only 103 voters.

And repre-
sented ruins

In the many small "pocket boroughs," the few voters, dependent upon a neighboring landlord, always elected his nominee. Large places had sometimes a like character. In 1828, at Newark, the Duke of Newcastle drove out 587 tenants who had ventured to vote against his candidate. ("Have I not a right," said he, "to do what I like with my own?") So the Duke of Norfolk filled eleven seats; and fully two thirds of the whole House of Commons were really the appointees of great landlords.

"Pocket
boroughs"

Many other places were "rotten boroughs." That is, the few voters sold the seats in Parliament as a regular part of their

"Rotten
boroughs"

private revenue. In 1766 Sudbury advertised in the public press that its parliamentary seat was for sale to the highest bidder. Moreover, all voting was viva-voce, and the polls were held open for two weeks — so that there was every chance to sell and buy votes.

Reform
checked by
foreign war,
1689-1815

The House of Commons had become hardly more representative than the House of Lords. As the English historian Macaulay said, the “boasted representative system” of England had decayed into “a monstrous system of *represented ruins*”



CANVASSING FOR VOTES IN “GUZZLEDOWN.”—This is Number 2 in Hogarth’s “Humors of a Country Election.” Cf. cut opposite.

and *unrepresented cities*.” The reason why no reform had been secured was that from 1689 to 1815 all energies went to the long French wars. In the twelve years (1763-1775), between the “Seven Years’ War” and the American Revolution, the Whig leaders, like William Pitt, did attempt wise changes. But George III was determined to prevent reform. He felt that his two indolent and gross predecessors had allowed kingly power to slip from their hands (p. 384). He meant to get it back, and to “be a king” in fact as well as in name, as his mother had

George III
opposes re-
form

PLATE LXXXVIII



HUMORS OF A COUNTRY ELECTION, — the third of a series of four plates of that name by Hogarth (plate after p. 384) in 1755, just after a bitterly contested election. The present scene represents the polling at a late stage. The English franchise was as fantastic as it was limited, — complicated by ancient customs. (Thus Weymouth, with only a few score voters in all, had twenty, some of them paupers, whose right came from a claim to share in a sixpence part of the rent of some ancient village property !) The blind and maimed from the almshouse are being brought to the polls. The voter in the foreground is plainly an imbecile and unable to walk. Over his shoulder the man in a cocked hat and laces is trying to recall to him the name of his candidate. Somewhat in the background we have a symbolic representation of *Britannia* in her broken-down coach of state, helpless, while coachman and footman gamble at cards.

With all this keen satire, Hogarth was a true lover of beauty. This plate, spite of its ugly theme, has a lovely setting and many gracious lines.

urged him. To do this, he must be able to control Parliament. It would be easier to control it as it was then, than to control a Parliament that really represented the nation.

And therefore, when just at this time the Americans began to cry, "No taxation without representation," King George felt it needful to put them down. If their claim were allowed, so must be the demand of Manchester and other new towns in England for representation in Parliament. But if the American demand could be made to seem a treasonable one, on the part of a distant group of rebels, then the king could check the movement in England.

Relation to
the Ameri-
can Revolu-
tion

The American victory seemed at first to have won victory for English freedom also. Even before peace was declared, the younger Pitt asserted vehemently: Parliament "is not representative of the people of Great Britain; it is representative of nominal boroughs, and exterminated towns, of noble families, of wealthy individuals." This condition, he declared, alone had made it possible for the government to wage against America "this unjust, cruel, wicked, and diabolical war." In the years that immediately followed the war, Pitt introduced three different bills for reform. But, before anything was accomplished, came the French Revolution; and soon the violence of the Revolutionists in France turned the whole English middle class definitely against change — and projects for reform slumbered for forty years more (1790–1830). This unhappy check came just when the evils of the Industrial Revolution were becoming serious. But *the Tory party, which carried England stubbornly to victory through the tremendous wars against Napoleon, was totally unfitted to cope with internal questions, and looked on every time-sanctioned abuse as sacred.*

Reform
checked by
hatred for
the French
Revolution

The peace of 1815 was followed by a general business depression, — the first modern "panic." Large parts of the working classes had no work and no food. This resulted in labor riots and in political agitation. The Tory government met such movements by stern laws, forbidding public meetings (without consent of magistrates) under penalty of death; suspending

Tory reac-
tion after
the Napo-
leonic wars

habeas corpus (for the last time in England until the World War); and suppressing debating societies.

Some early
reform
movements

The year 1821 marks the beginning of slow gains for reform. In 1825 Parliament recognized the right of workingmen to unite in labor unions — which had always before been treated as *conspiracies*. In 1828 political rights were restored to Protestant dissenters (Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists); and the next year the same justice was secured for Catholics. The atrocious laws regarding capital punishment, too, were modified by striking the death penalty from 100 offenses.¹

Struggle for
parliamen-
tary reform
begins in
1830

Then, in 1830, George IV was succeeded by his brother William IV, a more liberal-minded king; and the French Revolution of the same year, by its *moderation* and by its success, strengthened the reform party in England. A new Parliament was at once chosen; and the Whigs promptly introduced a motion to reform the representation. The prime minister was the Tory *Wellington*, the hero of Waterloo. He scorned the proposal, declaring that he did not believe the existing representation "could be improved"! This speech cost him his popularity, both in and out of Parliament; and the Whigs came into power with *Earl Grey* as prime minister, and with Lord John Russell as leader in the Commons.²

Fall of
Wellington

The Whig
leaders

Lord Russell drew a moderate bill for the reform of Parliament. *Representation was to be distributed somewhat more fairly* by taking about 100 members away from rotten or pocket boroughs and assigning them to new places that needed representation; and the *suffrage was extended* to all householders in the towns who owned or rented houses worth £50 a year, and to all "farmers" (p. 535). (Farm laborers were left out; as were

¹ The English penal code of the eighteenth century has been fitly called a "sanguinary chaos." Whenever in the course of centuries a crime had become especially troublesome, some Parliament had fixed a death penalty for it, and no later Parliament had ever revised the code. In 1660 the number of "capital crimes" was fifty (three and a half times as many as there were in New England at the same time under the much slandered "blue laws"), and by 1800 the number had risen to over two hundred. To steal a sheep, to snatch a handkerchief out of a woman's hand, to cut down trees in an orchard, were all punishable by death.

² Russell was the son of a duke, and his title of Lord at this time was only a "courtesy title."

the town artisan class, living as its members did in tenements or as lodgers.)

To the Tories this mild measure seemed to threaten the foundations of society. Fierce debates lasted month after month. In March of 1831 the ministry carried the "second reading" by a majority of *one* vote. It was plain that the Whig majority was not large enough to save the bill from hostile amendment. (A bill has to pass three "readings," and amendments are usually considered after the second.) The ministry decided to dissolve, and "appeal to the country" for better support. The king was bitterly opposed to this plan. A passionate scene took place between him and his ministers, but he was forced to give way — and so, incidentally, it was settled that the ministry, not the king, dissolves Parliament. (*This means that Parliament really dissolves itself.*)

The king
forced to
yield to his
Ministers

The Whigs went into the new campaign with the cry, "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." Despite the unrepresentative nature of Parliament, they won an overwhelming majority. In June Lord Russell introduced the bill again. In September it passed the Commons, 345 to 239. Then the Lords calmly voted it down. One session of the second Parliament was wasted. The nation cried out passionately against the House of Lords. There was much violence, and England seemed on the verge of revolution.

Lords and
Commons

In December the same Parliament met for a new session. Lord Russell introduced the same bill for the third time. It passed the Commons by an increased majority. This time the Lords did not venture altogether to throw it out, but they tacked on hostile amendments. The king had always had power to make new peers at will. Lord Grey now demanded from the king authority to create enough new peers to save the bill. William refused. Grey resigned. For eleven days England had no government. The Tories tried to form a ministry, but could get no majority. Angry mobs stormed about the king's carriage in the streets, and the Whig leaders went so far as secretly to prepare for civil war.

The
"Eleven
Days"

Finally the king recalled the Whig ministry. He was still

The Lords
become an
inferior
house

unwilling to create new peers, but he offered to use his personal influence to get the upper House to pass the bill. Happily, Earl Grey was firm to show where real sovereignty lay; and the king was compelled to sign the paper (still exhibited in the British Museum) on which the earl had written, "The King grants permission to Earl Grey . . . to create such a number of new peers as will insure the passage of the Reform Bill." This ended the struggle. It was not needful actually to make new peers. The Tory lords withdrew from the sessions, and the bill passed, June 4, 1832.

Incidentally the long contest had settled two points in the constitution:

It had shown how the Commons could control the Lords.

The
"king's
ministers"
become the
nation's ex-
ecutive

It had shown that the ministers are not the king's ministry, except in name, but that they are really the ministry, or servants, of the House of Commons. This principle has never since been threatened. The king acts only through the ministers. Even the speech he reads at the opening of Parliament is written for him.

Excursus
on minis-
terial gov-
ernment

The way in which a change in ministry is brought about should be clearly understood. If the ministry is outvoted on any matter of importance, it must resign. If it does not do so, and claims to be in doubt whether it has really lost its majority, its opponents will test the matter by moving a vote of "lack of confidence." If this carries, the ministry takes it as a mandate to resign. There is only one alternative: If the ministry believes that the nation will support it, it may dissolve Parliament, and "appeal to the country." If the new Parliament gives it a majority, it may go on. If not, it must at once give way to a new ministry.

In form, the new ministry is chosen by the king; but in reality, he simply names those whom the will of the majority in the Commons has plainly pointed out. Indeed, he names only one man, whom he asks to "form a government." This man becomes *prime minister*, and selects the other ministers. In a parliamentary election, Englishmen really vote also for the next prime minister, just as truly, *and about as directly*, as we in this country

vote for our President. If the king asks any one else to form a ministry but the man whom the Commons have accepted as their leader, probably the man asked will respectfully decline. If he tries to act, he will fail to get other strong men to join him, and his ministry will at once fail. If there is any real uncertainty as to which one of several men is leader, the matter is settled by conference among the leaders, and the new ministry, of course, includes all of them.

A curious feature to an American student is that all this complex procedure *rests only on custom* — nowhere on a written constitution. Each member of the Cabinet is the head of some great department — Foreign Affairs, Treasury, War, and so on. The leading assistants in all these departments — some forty people now — are included in the ministry. About twenty of the forty, — holding the chief positions, — make the inner circle which is called the Cabinet. *The Cabinet* is really “the Government,” and is often referred to by that title. *It is the real executive; and it is also the “steering committee” of the legislature.* In their private meetings the members of the Cabinet decide upon general policy. In Parliament they introduce bills and advocate them. As ministers, they carry out the plans agreed upon. In these changes, *the king’s veto has disappeared.* The last veto was by Queen Anne in 1707.

Thus we have two types of democratic government in the world, both developed by English-speaking peoples. They differ from each other mainly in regard to the executive. In the United States, the executive is a president, or governor, *independent of the legislature.* The other republics upon this continent have adopted this American type. In England, the executive has become practically a steering committee of the legislature. This type is the one adopted by most of the free governments of the world outside America.

FOR FURTHER READING. — The most brilliant story is Justin McCarthy’s *Epoch of Reform*, 25–83. Rose’s *Rise of Democracy*, 9–52, is excellent.

CHAPTER LIV

REFORM IN THE VICTORIAN AGE

The "Victorian age"

In 1837 William IV was succeeded by his niece, Victoria, whose reign filled the next *sixty-four years*. Victoria came to the throne a modest, high-minded girl of eighteen years. She was not brilliant, but she grew into a worthy, sensible woman, of excellent moral influence. (In 1840 she married Albert, the ruler of a small German principality; and their happy and lovely family life was an example new to European courts for generations.) The remaining two thirds of the century was, for all the world, an era of prosperity, intellectual glory and moral refinement, democratic progress and social reform, and vast expansion of civilization. In all this advance, England held a first place.

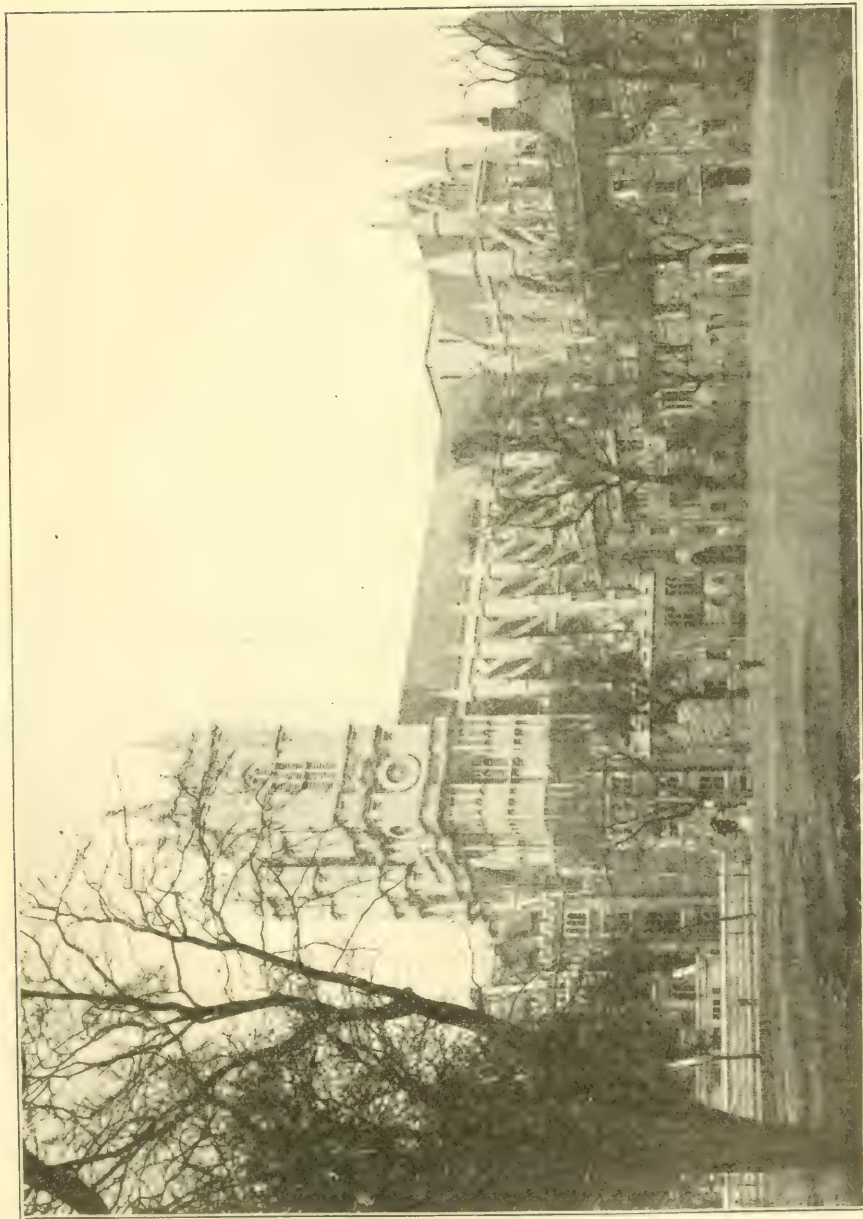
English politics

The Reform Bill of 1832 had given the vote to one out of six grown men (five times as liberal as the French franchise after the Revolution of 1830). *Political power had passed from a narrow landed oligarchy to a broad middle-class aristocracy.* Political parties soon took new names. "Conservative" began to replace "Tory," and "Liberal" replaced "Whig." From 1832 to 1874, except for short intervals, the Liberals were in power, carrying a long list of social reforms. Finally the Conservatives, too, adopted a liberal policy toward social reform, and secured longer leases of power. The following table of administrations will be convenient for reference:

Table of administrations

	<i>Liberals</i>	<i>Conservatives</i>		<i>Liberals</i>	<i>Conservatives</i>
1830-31	Grey		1846-52	Russell	
1834-35		Peel	1852		Derby
1835-41	Melbourne		1852-58	(1) Aberdeen	
1841-46		Peel	1858-59	(2) Palmerston	Derby

PLATE LXXXIX



WESTMINSTER ABBEY (really a cathedral, not an abbey), England's "Temple of Fame." The south transept (seen toward the extreme right) contains the "Poets' Corner," — true holy ground for all English-speaking peoples.

	<i>Liberals</i>	<i>Conserv- atives</i>		<i>Liberals</i>	<i>Conserv- atives</i>
1859-66	{ (1) Palmerston (2) Russell		1895-1906	. . . { (1) Salisbury (2) Balfour	
1866-68	. . . . .	Derby	1906	. . { Campbell-Bannerman Asquith (to 1915)	
1868-74	Gladstone		[1915-1918	A coalition war-ministry, led by Lloyd George]	
1874-80	. . . . .	Disraeli	1919-1922	A coalition ministry, mainly Conservatives, led by Lloyd George	
1880-85	Gladstone		1922	. . . . .	Bonar Law
1885-86	. . . . .	Salisbury			
1886	Gladstone				
1886-92	. . . . .	Salisbury			
1892-95	{ (1) Gladstone (2) Rosebery				

The man who did most to educate the Conservatives into this new attitude was the Jew, *Disraeli*. He was an author, a brilliant genius, and a shrewd politician. Some critics called him "a Conservative with Radical opinions," while others insisted that he had no principles in politics.

Disraeli and Gladstone

An even more important political figure was *Disraeli's* great adversary, *William E. Gladstone*. Gladstone entered Parliament in 1833, at the first election after the Reform Bill, and soon proved himself a powerful orator and a master of debate. He was then an extreme Tory. By degrees he grew Liberal, and thirty years later he succeeded Lord Russell as the unchallenged leader of that party. For thirty years more he held that place — four times prime minister. His early friends accused him bitterly as treacherous; but the world at large accepted his own simple explanation of his changes, — "I was brought up to distrust liberty; I learned to believe in it."

I. POLITICAL REFORM

The Tories at once accepted the result of 1832, as the Conservative party in England always does when a new reform has once been forced upon them. *But they planted themselves upon it as a finality.* Even the Whigs agreed for many years in this "finality" view so far as *political* reform was concerned. A few eager Radicals in Parliament for a time kept up a cry for a more liberal franchise, but soon even they gave up the contest, to take part in the great *social* legislation of the period.

Working-class discontent after 1832

The trade-
union move-
ment

True, the *masses of workingmen* knew that the victory of 1832 had been won largely by their sympathy and public demonstrations, and they felt that they had been cheated of the fruits.¹ This class continued restless; but they lacked leadership, and, in ordinary times, their claims secured little attention. At first, they turned to trade unions, and sought to get better wages and shorter hours by strikes. But employers united, dismissed all union workmen, and, aided by the conservative courts, stamped out the movement for many years. A strike by a union the courts held a "conspiracy," and in 1837 they transported six labor leaders to the Australian penal settlements.

The
Chartist
agitation

Then the Radicals turned again to politics. There were two marked periods of agitation at intervals of nearly twenty years, — just before 1848 and again before 1867. The earlier is the famous *Chartist movement*. Even before the First Reform Bill, there had been an extensive agitation for a more radical change, and the extremists had fixed upon six points to struggle for: (1) manhood suffrage, (2) equal electoral districts, (3) abolition of all property qualification for membership in Parliament, (4) payment of members, (5) the ballot, and (6) annual elections. In 1837 the Radicals renewed their agitation, and these "Six Points" were embodied in a proposed *Charter*. Five of them have since become law, and the sixth is no longer of any consequence; but to the ordinary Liberal of 1840 these demands seemed to prelude revolution and anarchy.

"Forty-eight" was the critical year. The Chartists adopted a resolution, "All labor shall cease until the people's Charter becomes the law of the land." But this first attempt at a "general strike" for political purposes, along with accompanying plans for monster petitions and processions, fizzled out, with no disturbance that called for anything more than a few extra policemen. The "year of revolutions" left England unmoved, and the Chartist movement died.

The next agitation took its rise from the suffering of the unemployed while the American Civil War cut off the supply of cotton for English factories, and it was strengthened by the

¹ There is an admirable treatment in Rose's *Rise of Democracy*, ch. ii.

victory of the democratic North in that war over the aristocratic South. This time no one dreamed of force. The Liberals, under Russell, introduced a reform measure, but lost power because they did not go far enough. Then, said Disraeli, cynically, "If the country is bound to have reform, *we* might as well give it to them" — and stay in office. Thus the "*Second Reform Bill*" (passed in 1867 by a Conservative ministry) extended the franchise to the *artisan class* (all householders and all lodgers who paid ten pounds a year for their rooms). This raised the number of voters to over *three millions*, or to something over half the adult male population. The *unskilled laborers* in town and country, and the male house-servants, still had no votes; but England had taken a tremendous step toward democracy.

The Second
Reform
Bill, 1867:
England a
democracy

This victory of 1867, like that of 1832, was followed by a period of sweeping legislation for social reform, — mainly in Gladstone's Liberal ministry, 1868-1874 (p. 523). Then, after a Conservative ministry, led by Disraeli and chiefly concerned with foreign matters (p. 523), Gladstone took office again, and the "Third Reform Bill" (1884) in large measure enfranchised the unskilled laborer and the servant class. This raised the electorate to *over six millions*, and (except for unmarried sons without property, living in the father's family, and for laborers living in very cheap houses) it gave votes to practically all self-supporting men, leaving out only about one seventh the adult males. The next year, Parliament did away with the chief remaining *inequalities in representation* by dividing England into parliamentary districts, like our congressional districts.

The Third
Reform
Bill, 1884

Three other reforms in this period made English politics clean and honest.

In 1870 the secret ballot was introduced. The form adopted was the excellent one known as the Australian ballot, from its use in Victoria. (Most of the States of our Union have since then adopted the same model.)

Other re-
forms in
politics

Between 1855 and 1870, the civil service was thoroughly reformed. In earlier years, public offices had been given to reward political

partisans, in as disgraceful a degree as ever marked American politics. But since 1870, appointments have always been made after competitive examinations, and there has been no removal of appointed officials for party reasons.

Bribery in elections, direct and also indirect, was effectively checked by the "Corrupt Practices Prevention Act" of 1883, drawn along lines more recently adopted in the United States.

Local
government
reform

Reform in
town gov-
ernment be-
gins in 1835

The extension of the franchise in the "Reform" bills applied only to *parliamentary* elections. But local government also called for reform. It had been highly aristocratic. It was not *centralized*, as in France; but each *rural* unit (county or parish) was in the hands of the *local* aristocracy, while the *town* government (usually vested in a self-elected mayor and council, holding office for life) had become exceedingly selfish and corrupt and had proved wholly indifferent to the pressing needs of the growing city populations. But in 1835 a Municipal Reform Bill provided that 183 boroughs (indicated by name) should each have a municipal council elected by all who paid local taxes. The Lords went wild with dismay at this "gigantic innovation," and by votes of 6 to 1, they amended nearly every clause in the bill so as to make it worthless. The Commons refused the amendments; and after a four months' struggle the Lords yielded. From time to time, new towns were added to the list; and finally, in 1882, it was provided that *any* town might adopt this form of government for itself. Since 1835, English town government has been honest, efficient, and enlightened, — a model to all other democratic countries. The best citizens serve in the town councils. The appointed officials, like the city engineer, city health officer, and so on, are men of high professional standing, who are never appointed or removed for political purposes.

Parish, Dis-
trict, and
County
Councils

In the rural units the rule of the country gentry had been free from corruption, and it lasted until the latter part of the century. It had not been particularly enlightened, however, and in 1888 and 1894 the *County Council Bill* and the *Parish Councils Bill* made *local government thoroughly democratic.* (1) The

parish has a primary assembly (*parish meeting*). (2) Parishes with more than three hundred people have also an elective *Parish Council*. (3) Larger subdivisions of the county, known as Districts, have elective *District Councils*. And (4) at the top is the elective *County Council*. The powers of all these local bodies are very great.

FOR FURTHER READING.
— On the Second and Third Reform Bills, interesting treatments are to be found in Hazen, Rose, McCarthy's *History of Our Own Times*, and in the younger McCarthy's *England under Gladstone*. Beard's *English Historians*, 566–581 and 582–593, is admirable. On the Chartists, Rose, 84–146; Hazen, 446–450.



QUEEN VICTORIA, late in life.

II. SOCIAL REFORM

The thirties were a period of humanitarian agitation, as well as of democratic advance. *Charles Dickens* wrote his moving stories of the abuses in the courts, the schools, the factories, the shops. *Carlyle* thundered against injustice, in *Chartism* and in *Past and Present*; *Mrs. Browning* pleaded for the abused children in touching poems; and Parliament responded to the same impulse.

After carrying the Reform Bill of 1832, Earl Grey's ministry (1) freed the Negro slaves in the West India colonies, *paying the colonists for their loss*¹; (2) began to free the hardly less miserable "white slaves" of the English factory towns, by a new era of factory legislation (p. 520); (3) freed the Irish peasants

Social reforms just after the First Reform Bill

¹ SPECIAL REPORT: Wilberforce, and his work for emancipation.

from the obligation of paying tithes to support the Episcopalian clergy, whom they hated; (4) abolished the pillory and the whipping post, and began to reform the foul and inhuman conditions in the prisons; (5) began the reform of local government (p. 518); and (6) made a first step toward public education, by a national grant of £20,000 a year to church schools.

**The Factory
Act of 1833**

The most important legislation of the century was the *labor and factory legislation* here begun. Gradually Englishmen had awakened to the ugly fact that the new factory system was ruining, not only the souls, but also the *bodies* of hundreds of thousands of women and children, so as to threaten national degeneracy. In 1833, among the first acts of the "Reformed Parliament," Lord Ashley (Earl of Shaftesbury)¹ secured a factory law limiting the work of children (under thirteen years) to forty-eight hours a week, and that of "young people" (from thirteen to eighteen years) to sixty-nine hours a week (or twelve hours on five days and nine hours on Saturdays), and strictly forbidding the employment of children under nine (!)

**The Factory
Act of 1847**

In 1847 a still greater factory law limited the labor of women and "young persons" (between 14 and 16) to *ten hours a day* with only half-time for "children" (between 9 and 14) and with provision for schooling in the vacant half of the day. (Indirectly this law fixed a limit upon the hours of men also, because, after the women and children had all left a factory, it was not profitable to keep the machinery going. *Thus ten hours became the factory working-day* many years before this goal was reached generally in America.)

**Later fac-
tory acts**

Of the long series of later acts, the most important is the great Act of 1901, which revised and advanced the factory legislation of the preceding century. Since 1901, no child under 12 can be employed at all in any sort of factory or workshop; and for employees between 12 and 16, a physician must certify that there is no danger of physical injury from the employment.²

¹ Special report upon his work for reform.

² FOR FURTHER READING.—Gibbin's *Industrial History of England*, 175-176, and Cheyney's *Industrial and Social History*, 224-262. Vivid statements are given also in Justin McCarthy's *Epoch of Reform, History of Our Own Times*, and *England in the Nineteenth Century*.

These acts have been accompanied by many provisions to secure good lighting and ventilation in factories and workshops, and to prevent accidents from machinery, by compelling the employer to fence it in with every possible care. In 1880 an *Employers' Liability Act* made it easy for a workman to secure compensation for any injury for which he was not himself to blame; and in 1897 a still more generous *Workman's Compensation Act* secured such compensation for the workmen by a simple process without lawsuits. (These acts have been copied in the last few years by progressive American States.)

Workman's
Compensa-
tion Act

The short Conservative ministry of Peel (1841-1846) was marked by the abolition of the Corn Laws. Those laws had put an excessively high tariff on imported grain. Their aim was to encourage the raising of foodstuffs in England, so as to make sure of a home supply; and during the Napoleonic war this policy perhaps had been justifiable. The money profits, however, had always gone mainly to the landlords, who enacted the laws in Parliament and who raised rents high enough to confiscate the benefits which the high prices might otherwise have brought to the farmer. After the rapid growth in population had made it impossible for England to produce enough food for her people anyway, the landlords' monopoly of breadstuffs had become an intolerable burden upon the starving multitudes.

The old
" Corn
Laws "

The needless misery among this class finally aroused great moral indignation. In 1838 the Anti-Corn-Law League, organized by *Richard Cobden* and *John Bright*, carried on a campaign of education through the press and by means of great public meetings. The manufacturing capitalists were made to see that the Corn Laws taxed them, indirectly, for the benefit of the landlords — since to enable their workmen to live, they had to pay higher wages than would otherwise have been necessary. And so the selfish interests of this influential manufacturing class were thrown to the side of this particular reform.

Finally, in 1846, a huge calamity was added to the same side. This was *the Irish Famine*. The population of Ireland had been increasing rapidly, until it amounted to over eight millions.

The Irish
Famine
forces free
trade in
food

The greater part were poor peasants, living in misery, with the potato for almost their sole food. Suddenly, in 1846, in a night, came a blight that ruined the crop for the year; and, despite generous gifts of food from all the world, two million people died of starvation.¹

The government in England had already been considering a reform of the Corn Laws, and this terrible event in Ireland forced it to act. Peel decided to let food in free; and, despite bitter opposition from the landlords of his own party, the reform was adopted.

One interesting result of the bitter feeling of the Tory landlords was the passing of the factory act of 1847 (p. 520). That much-needed reform had been vehemently opposed by *manufacturing* Liberals, like John Bright, who urged (1) that it would oblige manufacturers to reduce wages and raise prices; (2) that it took from the workman his "freedom of contract" (!); and (3) that it would ruin English industry and drive capital away to countries where there was no such "mischievous legislation." But the landlord Tories, who had just been beaten by Bright on the Corn Laws, grimly took their revenge by forcing this other reform upon the manufacturing capitalists. The story shows that neither division of the capitalist class could see any needs of the working class that conflicted with their own unjust profits.

Free trade
adopted as
a policy

Peel was soon overthrown by a party revolt, but the Liberals took up his work and carried it farther. They abolished one protective tariff after another, until, *by 1852, England had become a "free trade" country.* For the next half century this policy was never seriously questioned in England. Soon after 1900, however, some Conservative leaders began to advocate a policy of "fair trade," or a system of retaliatory tariffs against countries whose tariffs shut out British manufactures; and in 1909 and 1910 the Conservative party made its campaigns on this issue; but so far (1921) it has not won.

After the enfranchisement of the artisan class by the Reform Bill of 1867, came Gladstone's great reform administration

¹ A million more emigrated to America in the next four years (1847-1850). This was the first large immigration of Catholic Irish to this country.

PLATE XC



SIR ROBERT PEEL speaking for the Repeal of the Corn Laws before the amazed House of Commons. A painting by T. Walter Wilson.

(1868-1874), which rivals in importance that of Earl Grey in the thirties. It established alongside the old private and parochial schools a new system of public schools, or, as the English call them, Board Schools.¹ It abolished purchase of office in the army, and completed the civil service reform (p. 517). It introduced the ballot (p. 517). It opened English universities to others than the members of the Church of England. It passed further factory laws. It definitely repealed the old conspiracy laws, under which labor unions had been persecuted, and it gave legal rights to such unions, permitting them to incorporate and secure the rights at law of an individual. It also arranged honorably the Alabama Arbitration Treaty with the United States. It "disendowed" and "disestablished" the English Church in Ireland, and carried through important land reforms for Ireland (pp. 526-527).

Gladstone's
reform ad-
ministration,
1868-1874

But, despite the trade-union law, Gladstone offended the labor party by a new law regarding strikes. This law recognized the right of a union to strike, but made criminal any show of intimidation. It forbade strikers to revile those who remained at work; and it is reported that under the law seven women were sent to prison for crying "Bah!" at a workman who had deserted the strikers. The ministry lost more and more of its support, and finally Gladstone "dissolved." In the election, the labor unions voted for the Conservatives; and that party secured a large majority, for the first time since 1832.

The labor
unions
desert
Gladstone

Then followed *Disraeli's administration of 1874-1880 with its "dazzling foreign policy."* The only reform at home was the promised repeal of the law against strikes. Gladstone's ministry had been exceedingly peaceful and honorable in dealing with foreign nations. Disraeli, leader of the new ministry, characterized this attitude as weak, and said that it had "compromised

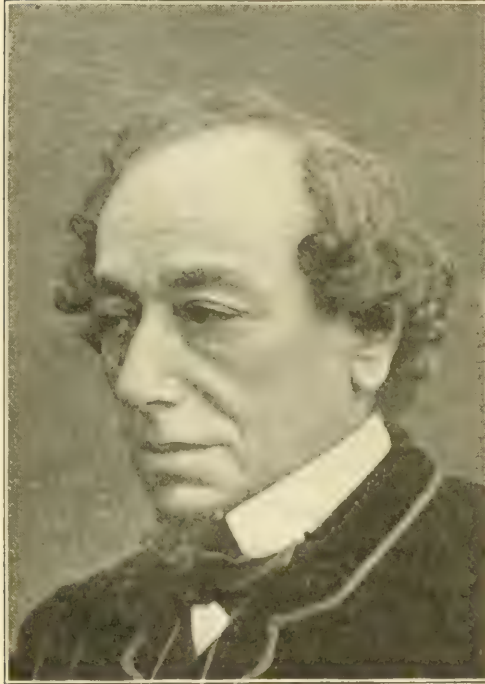
Disraeli's
imperialistic
administra-
tion, 1874-
1880

¹ So called because they are managed by elected Boards. (The term "public school" in England had been appropriated by the great secondary schools, like Rugby, though there is no public control over them.) The Board Schools have revolutionized the English working-class. In 1850, more than a third of the newly married couples had to sign their names in the marriage registers with their "marks"; but in 1903 only two per cent were unable to write their names.

the honor" of England. He adopted an aggressive foreign policy, and tried to excite English patriotism by "jingo"¹ utterances and conduct. By act of Parliament, Queen Victoria was declared "Empress of India"; the Boers of the Transvaal were incited to war, so that England might seize their lands; and in 1878, when Russia conquered Turkey (p. 623) and seemed

about to exclude the Turks from Europe, Disraeli interfered. He got together a Congress of the Powers at Berlin, and saved enough of European Turkey to shut Russia off from the Mediterranean.

Gladstone came forth from retirement to carry on a great campaign against this policy of supporting the Turk in his mastery over the Christian populations of southeastern Europe. His appeal to the moral sense of the English people was successful; and in the election of 1880 the Liberals secured an over-



DISRAELI, LORD BEACONSFIELD, late in his career.

whelming majority. The evil work of the Congress of Berlin could not now be undone; but Gladstone's new ministry passed the Third Reform Bill and it also completed the purification of English politics by adopting the law against "Corrupt Practices" (p. 518). Soon, however, this Liberal ministry found itself occupied with Irish questions, about which English politics were to revolve for the next fifteen years.

Gladstone's
second
ministry,
1880-1885

¹ This word comes from a popular music hall song of 1878:

"We don't want to fight; but, by jingo, if we do
We've got the men, we've got the ships,
We've got the money, too."

III. ENGLAND AND THE IRISH QUESTION

The tragic story of Ireland to the close of Elizabeth's day has been told. Said an English poet-historian of that time, "If it had been practised in Hell as it has been in Ireland, it had long since destroyed the very kingdom of Beelzebub." Just before the Civil War in England, the goaded Irish rose in fierce rebellion. A little later the merciless hand of Cromwell restored order with a cruelty which makes his name a by-word in Ireland to-day. Toward the close of the century, the Irish sided with James II against William III, but were defeated at the *Battle of the Boyne* (1690). The Treaty of Limerick (1691), however, promised them the enjoyment of their own religion and certain other privileges; but these promises were treacherously broken by the English settlers, who controlled the parliament of the island, so that Limerick is known as "the City of the Broken Treaty."

Cromwell
and
William III

During the eighteenth century the fate of Ireland was wretched beyond description. In parts of Ulster (the northern province) the population was mainly English. Elsewhere *six sevenths of the land* belonged to English landlords, most of whom lived in England and spent their rents there. *Six sevenths of the people* were Catholic Irish. A few of these, especially in the west, were country gentlemen; a considerable number more were *tenant* farmers; but the great bulk were a starving peasantry, working the land for Saxon landlords and living in mud hovels, — each with an acre or two of ground about it.

Ireland in
the
eighteenth
century

Farmers and laborers alike were "tenants at will." That is, they could be evicted at the landlord's word. Population was so crowded that there was always sharp competition to get farms and cottages, and so the landlord could make his own terms. If the tenant improved the buildings or drained the land, he commonly found at once that he had to pay more rent, so that he himself got no profit from his extra labor. This system of "rack rent" made the peasantry reckless and lazy; and the fact that the law of their masters was used only to oppress them trained them to hate and break the law.

" Rack
rent "

The Rebel-
lion and the
"Union"

In 1798 the Irish rebelled. They were promised aid by the French Directory; but the help did not come in time, and the rising was put down with horrible cruelty. A change in the government followed. For several centuries, there had been a separate parliament for Ireland (controlled by the English settlers); but after 1798 *England consolidated the government of the two islands*. The *Act of Union* (1800) abolished the Irish legislature (giving Ireland one hundred representatives in the English Parliament), and made Ireland subject directly to English rule and English officials.

These were the conditions at the opening of the nineteenth century. In 1803 a brilliant young Irishman, *Robert Emmet*, tried to organize a rebellion for Irish independence; but the effort failed miserably, and Emmet died on the scaffold.

Young Ire-
land

The struggle for the repeal of the Union began in 1830, in the first English Parliament in which Catholics were allowed to sit (p. 510). Forty of the Irish delegation were pledged to work for repeal, and they were led by the dauntless *Daniel O'Connell*; but the Irish famine of 1846 checked the agitation, and just afterward O'Connell died. Then a band of hot-headed young men tried conspiracy, and the fruitless and rather farcical rebellion of Young Ireland marked the year 1848.

And the
Fenians

The next twenty years saw no progress. In 1866 came another rebellion, — *the Fenian Conspiracy*, — organized by Irish officers who had served in the American Civil War. The danger did not become serious, but it convinced many liberal Englishmen that something must be done for Ireland, and Gladstone's reform ministry of 1868-1874 took up the task.

Gladstone's
reforms

1. Since the day of Elizabeth, the Episcopal church had held the ancient property of the Catholic church in Ireland, though in 1835 a parliamentary commission failed to find *one* Protestant (except the appointed clergy) in any one of 150 parishes. That foreign church was now *disestablished* (deprived of political privileges) and partially *disendowed* — though it kept its buildings and enough other property to leave it still very rich.

2. This act of partial justice was followed in 1870 by the first

of a long series of important *reforms of the land laws*. Two things were attempted: (1) in case of removal, it was ordered that the landlord must pay for any improvements the tenant had made; and (2) the government arranged to lend money on long time and at low interest, to the tenants, so that they might buy their little patches of land. In 1881 and 1885 Gladstone's ministries extended and improved these laws until the peasants began to be true land-owners, with a chance to develop new habits of thrift and industry.

Meantime, in 1870, a group of Irish members of Parliament had begun a new agitation for "Home Rule," and soon afterward the same leaders organized the "Land League," to try to fix rents, as labor unions sometimes try to fix wages. For the time, the Liberal ministry frowned on both these movements, and prosecuted the Land League sternly on the ground that it encouraged crime against landlords.

Reform and coercion

But suddenly Gladstone made a change of front. In the new Parliament of 1884, eighty-six of Ireland's hundred and five members were "Home Rulers." They began to block all legislation; and Gladstone could go on only by securing their alliance. *Moreover, he had become convinced that the only way to govern Ireland was to govern it in coöperation with the Irish, and not in opposition to them.* So in 1886 he adopted the "Home-Rule" plan and introduced a bill to restore a separate legislature to Ireland.

Gladstone converted to Home Rule

The Conservatives declared that this policy meant disunion and ruin to the Empire, and in this belief they were joined by many of the old Liberals, who took the name of *Liberal Unionists*. The Home-Rule Bill was defeated; but it made the issue in the next election a few years later, and in 1893 Gladstone tried to carry another such measure. This time, the Commons passed the bill, but the Lords threw it out. The majority for it in the Commons was narrow, and plainly due only to the Irish vote. Thus Gladstone felt that the nation would not support him in any attempt to pass the bill by swamping the Lords with new peers. At this moment his age compelled him

Gladstone's retirement

to retire from parliamentary life, and the Liberals, left for a time without a fit leader, went out of power.

Further land
reform

The Conservatives and Unionists then tried to conciliate Ireland by extending the policy of government loans to the peas-



GLADSTONE, after retirement.

antry to an almost unlimited extent, though formerly they had railed at such acts as robbery and socialism; and they granted a kind of *local* "home rule," by establishing elective County Councils like those in England. The Irish members kept up agitation in Parliament, but for a long time even the Liberals seemed to have lost interest in Irish Home Rule; and indeed it was plain that nothing could be done until after the "mending or ending" of the House of Lords.

This matter was soon

forced to the front in connection with English questions (pp. 529 ff.).

The Sinn
Fein move-
ment

Meantime a group of ardent Irish scholars and poets had begun to revive the use of *Erse* (the ancient Irish language) and to build the old Irish history and legends into a noble and beautiful literature. A new sense of nationality, due largely to this literary revival, soon gave birth to the *Sinn Fein* movement ("Ourselves alone"), calling for complete independence.

CHAPTER LV

RECENT REFORM IN ENGLAND: "WAR UPON POVERTY"

I hope that great advance will be made during this generation toward the time when poverty, with its wretchedness and squalor, will be as remote from the people of this country as are the wolves which once infested its forests. — LLOYD GEORGE, in 1909.

After Gladstone's retirement, the Conservatives held power for ten years (1896-1905). They carried forward some social reforms which they had once bitterly opposed — such as factory reform and Irish-land reform — but they also placed the English Board schools under the control of the established church. In 1905 the Liberals returned to power with a group of new leaders, who still (1921) remain prominent in English public life, — Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Winston Churchill. The ministry which contained these men was supported by the largest parliamentary majority which had been seen since the First Reform Bill. The same election sent fifty Labor representatives to Parliament, several of them avowed Socialists.

The Con-
servative
rule, 1896-
1905

Return of
the Liberals
to power

Fifty Labor
members in
1905

The new ministry sought at once to take the schools back from the control of the church but succeeded only in part — owing to the veto of the Lords. That House, too, ventured to challenge conflict by vetoing a bill that tried to take away the "plural votes" of rich men.¹ To "end or mend" the obstructive House of Lords had been part of the Liberal platform for a quarter of a century. Now the issue was coming to the front. The final clash came over the budget.

¹ The English law permitted a man to vote in as many counties as he held landed property. The defense of this ancient privilege of property had become a matter of intense feeling with the English Conservatives. The Liberals shouted the slogan, "One man, one vote." (Since elections were held all on one day, the actual number of plural votes was not very large; but they remained a hateful class distinction.)

Lloyd
George's
budget of
1909

Each year the ministry presents a statement of the expenses it intends to incur, and of the taxes it proposes to lay where-with to meet those expenses. This statement is the budget. In April of 1909 Lloyd George, finance minister, presented a budget which honestly horrified Conservatives, and which was the most socialistic step ever taken up to that time by a great government. (1) A graduated income tax took a large part of all incomes over \$25,000, and *bore more heavily on unearned incomes than on those earned.* (2) A graduated inheritance tax took larger proportions than formerly of inheritances. (3) A much higher tax was placed on land that paid rents and royalties to landlords than on land worked by its owners. (4) Most important of all, there was a provision that when any man sold land for more than it had cost, he must pay one fifth the gain into the national treasury. (This is known as a tax on the "un-earned increment," and is a move toward the doctrine of the Single-taxers, who wish the community to take *all* such unearned increment.)

The Conservatives attacked this budget violently as revolutionary. Especially they denounced the distinction regarding *unearned incomes* as an "invidious assault on the rights of property." Moreover, they claimed that the treasury did not need such vast income as was proposed. As to this last point, Lloyd George declared that he was proposing a "war budget," — for "waging implacable war against poverty." The other accusations were answered forcibly by Mr. Winston Churchill, who frankly declared a man's right to property dependent upon the way in which he obtained it: "Formerly," said he, "the only question by the tax-gatherer was 'How much have you got?' . . . To-day . . . we ask also, 'How did you get it?'"

The Lords
challenge
conflict

The budget passed the Commons, but the Lords threw it out by a vote of five to one. For many centuries the upper House had not dared to interfere with a "money bill" (p. 310). Now was the time for the Commons to strike. The ministry "dis-solved," in order to appeal to the nation for support in restrict-ing the veto of the House of Lords, and were indorsed by an

enlarged majority. The Lords now passed the budget, but threw out a bill against their veto. Another dissolution and a second election showed the country resolutely behind the ministry; and Mr. Asquith, Prime Minister, now announced that, if necessary, 500 new peers would be created to pass the bill.

Then the helpless Lords passed the law which reduced their House to a nonentity. Under this law of 1911, any money bill passed by the Commons becomes law within a month, whether the Lords pass it or not (and the Speaker of the Commons decides whether a bill is or is not a money bill); and any other bill passed by the Commons *at three successive sessions* becomes law, in spite of a veto by the Lords.

The Lords
lose the
veto

The Liberals then hastened to push through a program of social reform. In 1908 they had already passed an Old-age Pensions Act giving \$1.25 a week to every person over seventy years old with a yearly income of less than £160 — not as a dole of charity but as due reward in payment for a long life of service to the commonweal. An even more important move in the “war against poverty” was now made, in a national insurance act of 1911. This act *compelled* every worker with a yearly income of less than \$800 to insure against sickness, and *offered tempting inducements* for such insurance to workers with higher incomes. (The benefits include weekly payments during sickness, *free medical care in health*, and free treatment in state hospitals when sick.) More radical still was a provision insuring workers in certain trades *against unemployment*. A workman out of work, without fault of his own, was promised a weekly sum for a term of fifteen weeks, and free transportation to a place where the free labor-bureaus may find him new work. These acts placed England in the lead of the large nations in the matter of “social insurance.”

Social in-
surance,
1911

Political reform, too, was pushed forward. In 1911 the maximum duration of Parliaments was limited to five years, instead of seven, and salaries (\$2000 a year) were provided for members of Parliament. The same Parliament finally “disestablished” the English church in Wales (where the people were practically all dissenters) and at last passed *Irish Home Rule*. The Lords

Other re-
form before
the War

vetoed both measures in 1912 and in 1913, but in 1914 they became law over the veto. In Protestant Ulster, however, the Conservative "Unionists" threatened rebellion to prevent Home Rule going into effect. When, a few weeks later, the World War began, the leaders in this program of violence gave it up; but in return the ministry secured an act from Parliament postponing the date when the Home-Rule law should go into operation.

Delay due
to the
World War

This delay was one of the most unhappy results of the great war. The old hatreds seemed about to be wiped out. Previous reforms by the English Parliament had disestablished the English church in Ireland and had tried honestly to undo the injustice of centuries of English landlordism there by making the Irish peasants again the owners of their own land. A final act of justice seemed about to be performed, which would have left further Irish reform in Irish hands. The delay (along with some other blunders of the English government) produced bitter resentment; and now the Sinn Feiners (p. 528) became the dominant party. On the whole Ireland still did its part nobly in the great war; but some leaders spent their energies instead (sometimes even in plots with German autocracy) in attempts to set up an independent Irish nation. On the other hand, fighting Germany for her life, England used unwise severity in putting down such plots by death sentences. This made any righteous settlement grievously hard.

Ireland
since the
war

It is most convenient to bring this story down to date at this point. In the first Parliamentary election after the war, the Sinn Feiners displaced the Home Rulers, winning nearly all the seats outside Ulster. Of course they then left their seats vacant. In 1920 Lloyd George carried a new Home-Rule Bill, providing *two* subordinate Irish parliaments. The Ulster parliament organized; but the rest of Ireland would have nothing to do with the plan. For the next two years Ireland was ruled by martial law, with innumerable assassinations and riots and with frightful police retaliation.

At last, however, England had to recognize that the great bulk of the Irish people really were united in their demand for a new national life, and English public opinion began to

rebel against the government's policy of armed repression. (No question, too, this change of feeling was hastened by the very strong and general sympathy for Ireland expressed in America—to whose public opinion England had grown sensitive.) At the same time, few Englishmen felt that in these days of airships and submarines, England could safely run the risk of the neighboring island becoming a base of operations for an enemy in some future war. Independence in all internal arrangements, and even in foreign trade, it was seen, had to be conceded, but along with retention of oversight over foreign political relations.

And suddenly Lloyd George (to the dismay and wrath of the Tory elements in the coalition that had been supporting him) executed one more of his many political somersaults. He called into conference the Irish leaders whom just before he had been hunting down as traitors or felons, agreed with them upon a new plan of government by which Ireland became as independent and self-governing as Canada or Australia, and carried that plan swiftly through the English Parliament. In Ireland an extreme party still stood out for entire separation from the British Empire, but, after some weeks of bitter debate, the Irish Free State parliament ratified this treaty on January 7, 1922. So, it may be hoped, ends the story of one of the longest and cruelest injustices in history.

The settle-
ment of
1922

Meantime suffrage reform had been completed in England. In 1912 the Asquith ministry introduced the "Fourth Parliamentary Reform Bill," extending the suffrage to *all* grown men and establishing the principle "one man, one vote"; but this bill was withdrawn, later, because of complications with the "equal suffrage" movement.

"Votes for
Women":
the suffra-
gettes

Until 1870, women in England (and in most European lands) had fewer rights than in America. But when the English "Board schools" were created, women were given the right to vote for the Boards, and to serve upon them. In 1888 and 1894 they were given the franchise for the County Councils and Parish Councils, subject to the tax-paying restrictions that applied

to men. Then in 1893 the colony of New Zealand gave women full political rights, and in 1901 the new Australian Commonwealth did so (as the separate Australian States had done or at once did do).

The action of these progressive colonies reacted upon Old England.¹ In 1905 numbers of women there exchanged peaceful agitation for violence, in the campaign for the ballot. They made noisy and threatening demonstrations before the homes of members of the ministry; they broke windows; they invaded the House of Commons in its sittings; and at last they began even to destroy mail boxes and burn empty buildings. The purpose of these *suffragettes* was to center attention on the demand "Votes for women," since, the leaders believed, the demand was sure to be granted if only people could be kept thinking about it. When members of this party of violence were sent to jail, they resorted to a "starvation strike," until the government felt compelled to release them — after trying for a time "forceful feeding." For the time, however, the suffragettes lost public sympathy and alienated many Liberals, so that all franchise reform paused. But when the war of 1914 began, the suffragette leaders called upon their followers to drop all violence while the country was in peril; *and the devoted services of women to the country throughout the war removed the last opposition to equal suffrage.* In 1918 the "Fourth Reform Bill" became law, giving one vote to each man and each woman.

England
long a land-
lord's coun-
try

The early years of the twentieth century saw also another act of reparation to a large part of the English people — a matter which requires a backward glance.

In 1700, in spite of the sixteenth-century inclosures (p. 365), England still had some 400,000 yeomen farmers — who, with their families, made nearly half the total population. But by 1800, though population had doubled, this class of independent small holders had vanished, and rural England had become a country of great landlords. The change took place mainly dur-

¹ See also the progress of equal suffrage in other European lands (pp. 578-582) and in America (*West's American People*, 689-690).

ing the final quarter of the century — just when the Industrial Revolution was well under way. The new profits in farming (p. 465) made landlords eager for more land. They controlled Parliament (p. 506); and that body passed law after law *inclosing the "commons," for the benefit of their class*. A rhyme of the day expresses the feeling of the yeomen:

"The law locks up the man or woman
Who steals the goose from off the common;
But leaves the greater villain loose
Who steals the common from the goose."

The peasant farmers, having lost their old pasture land by these inclosures, could no longer maintain themselves against the competition of the privileged landlord, who also alone had money to buy the new machinery coming into use. *Small farmers were compelled to sell out*; while the merchants and new manufacturing capitalists were eager to buy, both because of the new profits in agriculture and because social position and political power in England in that day rested on ownership of land. The dispossessed yeomanry drifted to the new factory towns to swell the unhappy class there (p. 475); or they remained to till the landlord's land, living on his estate as "cottagers," subject to removal at his order.

Since this change, until very recently, the classes connected with the land in England have been three, — landlords, *tenant-farmers*, and laborers. The first class comprised a few thousand gentry and nobles. Each such proprietor divided his estate into "farms," of from a hundred to three hundred acres, and leased them out to men with a little capital, who are known as "farmers." This second class worked the land directly, with the aid of the third class, who had no land of their own but who labored for day-wages.

Classes in
rural Eng-
land

The landlords as a rule prided themselves upon keeping up their estates. They introduced costly machinery and improved methods of agriculture more rapidly than small proprietors could, and they furnished some of the money necessary to put farms and buildings into good condition. Their own stately homes, too, encompassed by rare old parks, gave a beauty to

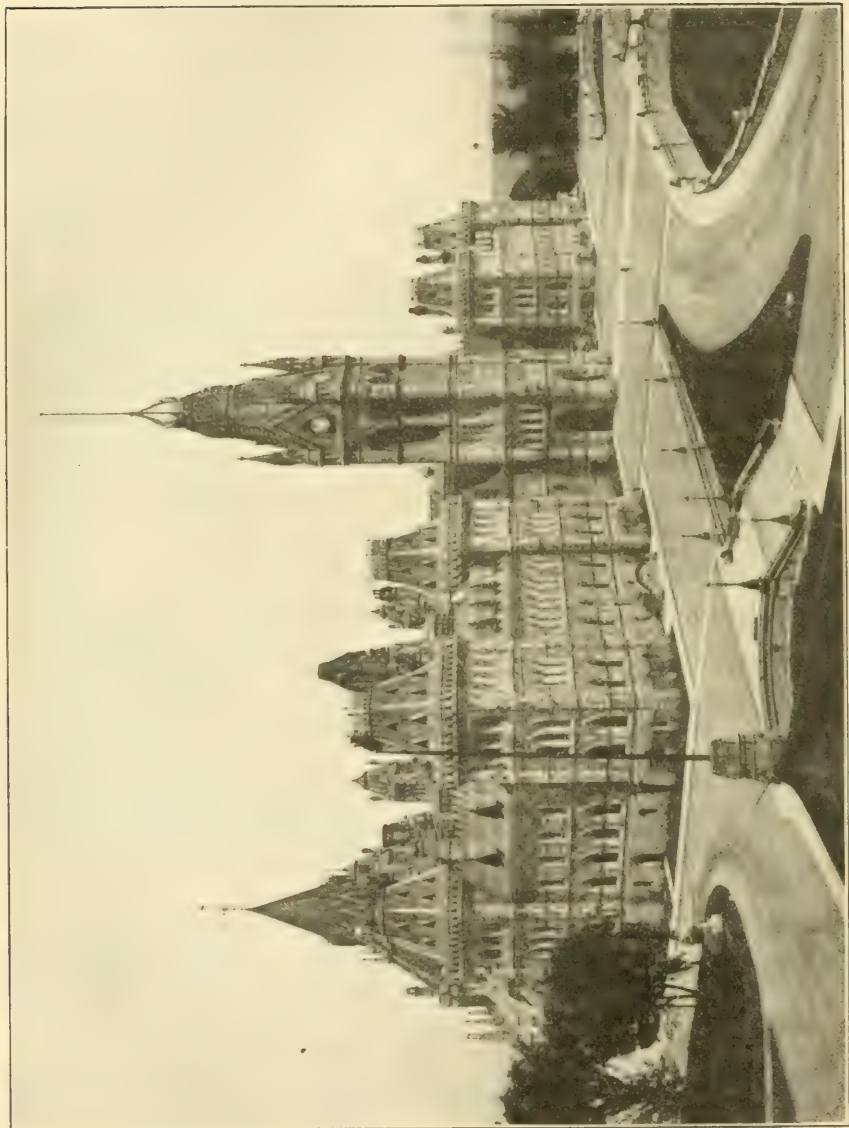
rural England such as no other country knew. (During the World War, these glorious oaks were cut to furnish lumber for England; and much of this beauty has been lost.) The farmers, compared with the farm-laborers, were an aristocratic and prosperous class; but, of course, they had always been largely influenced by their landlords. And they did not *own* their land. Peasants became free in England some centuries sooner than in France or Germany; but in no other European country have the peasants ever so completely ceased to be owners of the soil as in nineteenth-century England. In 1876 a parliamentary inquiry found only a quarter of a million (262,886) land-owners with more than an acre apiece (while 1200 men owned a fourth of all England). France, with about the same population, had more than twenty times as many land-owners as England had.

Rebuilding
the yeoman
class

For many years the Liberal party had tried to remedy this evil by parliamentary "Allotment acts" (1883, 1887, 1892); but the commissioners to carry out such laws always came from the landlord class, and little was done. But after *local* government became democratic (in 1888 and especially in 1894) the local councils began to buy land, or to condemn it at forced sales, and then to turn it over in small holdings to farm laborers on long leases or for purchase on easy terms. This movement has been tremendously accelerated by the need of taking care of unemployed returned soldiers since the World War; and the English people are coming once more to own England.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, 265-279; Cross, *History of England*, ch. lvii; Larson, *Short History of England*, 617-639.

PLATE XCI



CANADIAN PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS AT OTTAWA.

CHAPTER LVI

ENGLISH COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES

Of all peoples the English have been the most successful in colonizing new lands and in ruling semi-barbarous races. In 1776 England lost her most important colonies in North America; but the hundred years of war with France (1689–1815) gave her a new and vaster empire (pp. 399, 449). In the nineteenth century this empire was tremendously expanded again, — mainly by peaceful settlement and daring exploration. In 1914 the British Empire covered nearly fourteen million square miles (nearly a fourth the land area of the globe), and its population numbered four hundred millions, or about one fourth of the whole human race. Forty millions of this number dwelt in the British Isles, and about fifteen millions more of English descent lived in self-governing colonies, — mainly in Canada, Australia, and South Africa. The other seven eighths of the vast population of the Empire are of non-European blood, and for the most part they are subject peoples.

The
British
Empire

The outlying possessions are of two kinds: (1) those of continental importance in themselves, such as Canada, India, Egypt, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and the West Indian and South American colonies; and (2) coaling stations and naval posts commanding the routes to these possessions, such as Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Ceylon, St. Helena, Trinidad, and scores more.

Some colonies are completely self-governing, with no dependence upon England except in form. This is true of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. The English ministry appoints a *Governor General*, whose powers resemble those of the figurehead monarch in England. *But the people of the colony elect the local legislature; and the real executive is the local*

The self-
governing
colonies

ministry, "*responsible*" to the legislature, as the ministry in England is to Parliament.

Crown
colonies

In another group of colonies, the governors and officials, sent out from England, really control the whole government. This class of "*crown colonies*" comprises most of the naval posts, like Gibraltar, and also those colonies lying in the torrid zone, where the population is mainly non-European.

India

India is a huge crown colony. The English ministry appoints a Viceroy and a Council, and these authorities name the subordinate officials for the subdivisions of the vast country. In the smaller districts the English officials are assisted by native officers, and to some extent by elected councils of natives. Outside the territory ruled directly by England there are also nearly a thousand native principalities, large and small, where the governments are really directed by resident English "agents."

The constant petty wars which formerly were always wasting the land have been wholly done away with, and the terrible famines, which from time immemorial have desolated it at intervals, have become fewer, and on the whole, less serious. As a result, population has increased rapidly, — over fifty per cent in a century, — and to-day more than three hundred million people dwell in India. England has built railroads, and developed cotton industries. Cotton mills give a Western appearance to parts of that ancient Oriental land. India has 800 newspapers (printed in twenty different languages); and 6,000,000 students are being educated in schools of many grades. India is not taxed directly for the benefit of the treasury of the Empire, but her trade is a chief source of British wealth.

The English have been making a notable attempt to introduce self-government and to get the natives to care for it. Towns are invited to elect municipal councils and to take charge of their streets and drainage and other matters of local welfare. Still it remains true that the Hindoos cannot understand Western civilization, and they do not like it. Moreover, in the great war, England failed to throw herself generously upon

PLATE XCII



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RAILROAD STATION, BOMBAY, INDIA. — The purpose of the building is due, of course, to English civilization; but the architecture is native to India.

Indian loyalty; she refused commissions to Hindoos, and lost a great chance to bind that people to her more closely.

Dissatisfaction due to this mistaken English policy, and the new impulse given by the war to all nationalist movements, have led, since 1920, to a remarkable "pacifist" movement for Hindoo independence — which, at this writing (December, 1921) English officers are putting down cruelly.

Egypt in name was one of the tributary states of Turkey until 1914. In fact, however, it had been independent for most of the nineteenth century, until, in 1881, a new master stepped in. The government had borrowed recklessly and spent wastefully and the land was misgoverned and oppressed by crushing taxation. Then, in 1879, England and France jointly intervened to secure payment of debts due from the Egyptian Khedive to English and French capitalists. In 1881 came a native Egyptian rising against this foreign control. France withdrew. England stayed, restored order, and "occupied" the country. England had a special motive for staying. The Suez Canal had been opened in 1869. The gigantic undertaking had been financed by an international stock company. In 1875 Disraeli's administration had bought from the Egyptian government its share of the Canal stock, and the English intervention in Egypt was largely to protect this property. Egypt has been made a base of operation, also, from which English rule has been extended into the Soudan (map facing p. 603) far toward Central Africa.

Egypt

**And the
Suez Canal**

After 1881, Egypt was really an English protectorate. The Khedive and all the machinery of the old government remained unchanged; but an English agent was always present at the court "to offer advice." Many Englishmen entered the service of the Egyptian government, too; and all such officers looked to the English agent as their real head. In 1914, during the great European war, England formally announced a full protectorate.

To Egypt itself, English rule was in many ways a decided good. The system of taxation was reformed, so that it became

less burdensome and more productive. The irrigation works were revived and improved, so that Egypt is richer, more populous, and with a more prosperous peasantry, than ever before. At the same time there has grown up a party among the Egyptian people who believe that their country is now quite fit to stand alone — and that it has a right to try. After the World War this situation led to occasional popular risings and stern English repression. Just at this writing (March, 1922) Lloyd George has announced that Egypt is to be set free.

One of the most important features of the nineteenth century was the *development of self-government* in the *Anglo-Saxon* colonies of England. The loss of the American colonies had taught a lesson, and the next colony to show violent dissatisfaction had all its wishes granted.

The winning
of self-gov-
ernment in
Canada

This event took place in Canada in 1837. There were then only two "provinces" there. These thinly settled districts lay along the St. Lawrence, and were known as Upper and Lower Canada. They had been governed for many years much as Massachusetts or Virginia was governed before 1776. The accession of the girl-queen in England in 1837 was the signal for a rising. The rebellion was stamped out quickly; but an English commissioner, sent over to investigate, *recommended that the demands of the conquered rebels for greater freedom should be granted*. Parliament adopted this recommendation. In 1839 the two provinces were granted "*responsible*" *ministries*. England, in name, retains a veto upon Canadian legislation; but it has never been used. In 1850 a like plan for self-government was granted to the Australian colonies; in 1852 to New Zealand; and in 1872 to Cape Colony in Africa.

Australia
begins as a
convict
camp

The growth of the Australian colonies is a romantic story, worthy of a book to itself. England's original claim rested on landings by Captain Cook in his voyage to the Pacific in 1769. No regular settlement was attempted for half a century, but in 1787 England sent a shipload of *convicts* to the coast of "New



THE TAJ MAHAL, AGRA, INDIA.
Built by Shah Jehan as a memorial to his favorite wife.

South Wales," and repeated this act from time to time for fifty years. After their terms of punishment, many ex-convicts became steady farmers, and finally the English government began to induce other settlers to "go out" by free grants of land and of farming implements. By 1821 the colony had a population of 40,000, and soon it became the main sheep-raising region of the world.

By natural expansion, familiar to students of American history, this colony of New South Wales sent out offshoots, so that by 1859 the continental island was occupied by six English colonies. These Australian commonwealths have been pioneers in democratic progress. Before 1900, every man and *every woman* in each state had the right to vote. The government in each state owned the railroads. The "Australian ballot" and the Torrens system of land transfer came from these colonies; and a powerful Labor party in each has secured other radical reforms — which are seen better still perhaps in New Zealand.

English
expansion
in Australia

Democratic
progress in
Australia

"New Zealand" comprises a group of islands 1200 miles east of Australia. Settled and governed for a time from New South Wales, it became a separate colony in 1840. In 1911 it contained a million English-speaking inhabitants. For many years it has been perhaps the most democratic state in the world. Women secured the right to vote in 1893. Large estates have been broken up into small holdings by heavy taxation. A state "Farmers' Loan Bank" set the example followed in part by the United States in 1913. The most advanced factory laws and "social insurance" laws in the world have been found in New Zealand since 1893 and 1898.

New
Zealand
experiments
in industrial
democracy

South Africa was long an unsatisfactory part of the Empire for Englishmen to contemplate. England seized Cape Colony from the Dutch during the Napoleonic wars (p. 449). English settlers came in rapidly, but in 1834 a portion of the old Dutch colonists "trekked" (moved with families, ox-wagons, herds, and flocks) north into the wilderness, and set up an independent government in Natal. A few years later the

South
Africa:
the Boers

British annexed Natal, and the Dutch again trekked into what is known as the Orange Free State, and, in 1848, once more into the country beyond the Vaal River. These "Transvaal" Dutch became involved in serious difficulties with the native Zulus, whom they enslaved and treated brutally, and a native rising threatened to exterminate all Europeans in South Africa. Under Disraeli (p. 523) England interposed, put down the Zulus, and extended her authority once more over the Boer states.

In 1880 the Boers rebelled, and with their magnificent marksmanship destroyed a British force at the *Battle of Majuba Hill*. Gladstone adopted the view that the Boers had been wrongfully deprived of their independence, and, without attempting to avenge Majuba Hill, he withdrew the British claims and left to the Boers of the Transvaal a virtual independence, under British "protection." The exact relations between the two countries, however, were not well defined.

The Boer War

Soon afterward, gold was discovered in the Transvaal, and English and other foreigners rushed in, so as to outnumber the Boer citizens. The Boers, who were simple farmers, unable themselves to develop the country, had at first invited immigrants, but soon became jealous of their growing numbers and refused them all political rights. England attempted to secure better treatment for her citizens among these new settlers, and, under Salisbury's Conservative and Imperialistic ministry, was bent upon reasserting her authority in general. The Boers declared war (1899). The Orange Free State joined the Transvaal, and the little republics carried on a marvelous and heroic struggle. They were finally beaten; and England adopted a generous policy toward the conquered, making large gifts of money to restock their ruined farms, and granting liberal self-government to her recent foes.

English colonies organized in great federal commonwealths

During the last half-century the English-speaking colonies have made one more great advance in free government. At the time of the American Revolution, "Canada" meant merely the St. Lawrence settlements. In the nineteenth century these

expanded westward, forming a splendid band of states¹ spanning the continent. Then, in 1867, the separate colonies of this British North America organized themselves into *the Dominion of Canada*. This is a *federal state*, similar to the United States, composed now of nine members, with a number of other "Territories." The union has a two-house legislature, with a responsible ministry; and each of the eight states has its own local legislature and ministry. *A similar union of the six Australian colonies* into one federal state was agitated for many years; and, after two federal conventions and a popular vote, it was finally established on the first day of the twentieth century. Finally, in 1909, the four South African states federated, with the name, "*The Union of South Africa*."

Thus three new English nations were formed, — each at its birth large enough to command respect among the nations of the world (each one double the size of the United States at the time when its independence was achieved).

The bond which holds together the Anglo-Saxon parts of the Empire is almost wholly one of feeling. Certainly, if either Canada or Australia wished to set up as an independent nation, England would not dream of trying to hold it. The English statesman, however, who should *invite* Canada to drop out of the Empire, or who should provoke her into doing so, would be universally regarded in England as a traitor to his race.

There is no present danger of separation. The colonists have had no cause to complain, except in one respect: namely, they have had no voice in deciding the policy of the Empire toward foreign nations. This evil has recently been removed in great part by the recognition of delegates from these colonial countries at the Peace Congress of 1919 and in the League of Nations.

¹ Read Mrs. Humphry Ward's *Lady Merton, Colonist*, to get the spirit of the Canada of the West.

Ties between England and her colonies

— 1900

PART XIV — CONTINENTAL EUROPE, 1871-1914

CHAPTER LVII

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, 1871-1914

The Gov-
ernment of
National
Defense

The news of Sedan (p. 503) reached Paris, September 3, 1870. The city had been kept in ignorance of the previous disasters

to French arms. Now it went mad with dismay and terror. The next day, aided by a mob invasion of the legislative chamber, a few Radical deputies tumultuously proclaimed the "Third Republic," and set up a provisional *Government of National Defense*.

This government tried at first to secure an honorable peace with Germany, protesting, truly, that the French *people* had not willed the war. But when Prussia made it plain that she intended to punish France by taking large slices of her territory, the conflict entered



GAMBETTA AROUSING THE PROVINCES
against the Prussian invader. — From
a newspaper print of the day.

upon a new stage. Paris held out heroically through a four months' siege; and *Gambetta*, a leading member of the Gov-

ernment of Defense, escaped from the beleaguered city in a balloon,¹ to organize a magnificent uprising in the provinces. Exhausted France raised army after army, and amazed the world by her tremendous exertions. But in the end it became apparent that the iron grasp of the German armies could not



BISMARCK DICTATING TERMS TO THIERS IN 1871, — a painting by Von Werner. The figure back of the table is Thiers' associate in the negotiation, Jules Favre, who had led the defense of Paris.

be broken. The great population of Paris began to suffer the horrors of famine; the dogs and rats had been eaten; and on January 28 the city surrendered.

There was no government in France with any real authority to make peace; and so an armistice was arranged, to permit the election of a *National Assembly* by manhood suffrage. The Assembly met toward the close of February, 1871, and created a provisional government by electing Thiers "Head of the Executive Power of the French Republic." To this government Bismarck dictated harsh terms of peace. The Prussians took Alsace and a part of Lorraine (with the great fortresses of Metz and Strassburg,) and a huge war indemnity of a billion dollars (some four times the cost of the war to Germany).

The
National
Assembly
of 1871

Bismarck
dictates
harsh terms

¹ This was long before the day of aëroplanes.

The "Com-
mune of
Paris," 1871

Hardly had the National Assembly accepted this peace before it had to meet a terrible rebellion at home. During the siege *all* adult males of Paris had been armed as National Guards. When the siege was over, every one who could get away from the distressed city did temporarily remove (including one hundred and fifty thousand of the *wealthier* National Guards) leaving Paris in control of the radical element. This element, too, kept its arms and its military organization; and it now set up a government of its own by choosing a large "Central Committee."

The National Assembly had established itself at Versailles. The radicals of Paris suspected it of wishing to restore the monarchy. (In fact, a large majority of the members *were* Monarchists, as events were soon to prove.) Moreover, the Assembly had aggrieved the poorer classes of Paris: it had insisted upon the immediate payment of rents and other debts incurred during the siege; and it did away in large measure with the pay of the National Guard, which since the surrender had been a kind of poor-relief. In addition to all this, the Reds and Socialists still remembered bitterly the cruel middle-class vengeance of '48 (p. 484).

For two weeks Paris and Versailles faced each other like hostile camps. Then, indorsed by another popular election, the Central Committee *set up the Commune and adopted the red flag.*

The supporters of this program wished the central government of France to be merely a loose federation of independent "communes."¹ In 1848 the Paris Radicals had learned that the *country* districts of France were overwhelmingly opposed to Socialism and to "Red Republicanism." But if each city and village could become an almost independent state, then the Radicals hoped to carry out their socialistic policy in at least Paris and other large cities.

¹ So they called themselves "Federalists." They are properly described also as "Communards"; but the name "Communist," which is often applied to them, is likely to give a false impression. That latter name is generally used only for those who oppose private property. Many of the Communards were also Communists, but probably the majority of them were not.

But France, though still bleeding from invasion, refused to be dismembered by internal revolt. The excited middle class felt, moreover, that the institution of property itself was at stake, and they confounded all Communards together as criminals seeking to overthrow society. Like attempts to set up



DESTRUCTION OF THE VENDÔME COLUMN (p. 440) by Communards in 1871;—a sketch by a contemporary Parisian artist. The Communards declared the commemoration of victory in wars of conquest unworthy a free people. The monument was afterward restored.

Communes took place at Marseilles, Toulouse, Narbonne, and Lyons; but they came to little, and the civil war was confined to Paris. April 2 the Versailles Assembly attacked Paris with the regular troops that had now returned from captivity in Germany. The struggle lasted two months and was utterly ferocious. The Assembly refused to treat the Communards as regular combatants, and shot down all prisoners. In retaliation, the Commune seized several hundred hostages from the better classes left in Paris. These hostages, however, were not harmed until the Commune had been overthrown. Then, in the final disorder, an unauthorized mob did put sixty-three of them to death, — the venerable Archbishop of Paris among them.

The bombardment of Paris by the Versailles government was far more destructive than that by the Germans had been.

Another
"White"
Terror

Finally the troops forced their way into the city, which was already in flames in many sections. For eight days more, desperate fighting went on in the streets, before the rebellion was put down. Court-martial executions of large batches of prisoners continued for many months, and some thirteen thousand survivors were condemned to transportation, before the rage of the victorious middle class was sated. There are few darker stains on the page of history than the cruelty and brutality of this middle-class vengeance.

The Assem-
bly monar-
chic in feel-
ing

The Assembly had been elected simply with a view to making peace. In choosing it, men had thought of nothing else. *It was limited by no constitution, and it had no definite term of office.* Certainly, it had not been commissioned to make a constitution or to continue to rule indefinitely; but it did both these things.

Monarchic
factions fail
to unite

At the election, people had chosen conservative candidates, because they wanted men who could be counted upon not to renew the war rashly. The majority of the members proved to be Monarchists; and they failed to set up a king, only because they were divided into three rival groups, — Imperialists (Bonapartists), Orleanists (supporters of the Count of Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe), and Legitimists (adherents of the Count of Chambord, grandson of Charles X). These three factions agreed in believing that a new election would increase the strength of the Republicans; and so for five years they resisted all demands of the Republican members for dissolution.

Thiers
President,
1871-1873

However, now that peace had been made, and the rebellion crushed, the Assembly felt compelled to replace the "provisional government" by *some* more regular form. Accordingly it made Thiers "President of the Republic," but it gave him no fixed term of office because the majority of the Assembly hoped to change to a monarchy at some favorable moment.

This presidency lasted two years (1871-1873), and it saw *France freed from foreign occupation.* Germany had expected the vast war indemnity (which was to be paid in installments) to keep France weak for a long period; and German garrisons

were to remain in France until payment was complete. But France astonished all beholders by her rapid recovery. In eighteen months the indemnity was paid in coin, and the last German soldier had left French soil. The government loans (p. 553) were taken up enthusiastically by all classes of Frenchmen, — in great measure by the industrious and prosperous peasantry.

In 1873 a momentary coalition of Monarchists and Radicals in the Assembly forced Thiers to resign. In his place the Monarchists elected *Marshal MacMahon*, an ardent Orleanist. *For some months a monarchic restoration seemed almost certain.* Legitimists and Orleanists had at last united in support of the Count of Chambord, who agreed to adopt the Count of Paris as his heir. The Monarchists had the machinery of the government in their hands, and were just ready to declare the Bourbon heir the King of France, when the two factions split once more on the question of a symbol. The Orleanists wished to keep the tricolor, the flag of the 1830 Monarchy. But the Count of Chambord denounced the tricolor as the "symbol of revolution," and declared that he would not give up the white lilies of the old Bourbon monarchy, the symbol of divine right. On this scruple the chance of the Monarchists came to shipwreck.

Last chance
of the Mon-
archists:
MacMa-
hon's presi-
dency

Then, in 1875, despairing of an immediate restoration, the Assembly adopted a constitution. Modified slightly by later amendments, this is the present constitution of the French Republic. It has never been submitted to the people.

The Consti-
tution of the
Third Re-
public

The constitution is very brief, because the Monarchist majority preferred to leave the details to be settled by later legislation, hoping to adapt them to a kingly government. The first draft spoke of a "Chief Executive." An amendment changed this title to "President of the Republic"; but the change was adopted by a majority of only *one* in a vote of 705. (*In 1884 a new amendment declared the republican form of government "not subject to repeal."*)

The legislature consists of two Houses. The Senate contains three hundred members, holding office for nine years, one third going out each third year. (At first, seventy-five of the mem-

bers were to hold office for life, but in 1884 an amendment declared that no more life members should be chosen.) The Deputies (lower House) are chosen by manhood suffrage for a term of four years. To amend the constitution, or to choose a President, *the two Houses meet together, at Versailles*, away from possible disturbances in Paris. In this joint form, they take the name *National Assembly*. A majority vote of this National Assembly suffices to change the constitution.

The executive consists of a *president*, elected for seven years by the National Assembly, and of *the ministry* he appoints. The president has much less power than the president of the United States. The ministers wield enormous power. They direct all legislation, appoint a vast multitude of officers, and carry on the government. Nominally, the president appoints the ministers; but, in practice, he must name those who will be acceptable to the Deputies. The ministry is obliged to resign when it ceases to have a majority behind it.

Neither France nor any other European republic gives to its judiciary the power to veto laws as unconstitutional (as our American Supreme Court may do). The legislature itself is the sole judge of the constitutionality of its acts.

The Republic
public security
securely estab-
lished

Even after the adoption of the constitution, the Assembly did not give way at once to a new legislature. But almost every "by-election" (to fill a vacancy) resulted in a victory for the Republicans, and *by 1876* that party had gained a majority of the seats. It at once dissolved the Assembly, and *the new elections created a House of Deputies two thirds Republican*. The Senate, with its seventy-five life-members, was still monarchic; and, with its support, MacMahon tried to keep a Monarchist ministry. But under the leadership of the fiery Gambetta, the Deputies *withheld all votes of supply*, until MacMahon appointed a ministry acceptable to it. *In 1879* the renewal of one third the Senate gave the Republicans a majority in that House also, and, soon after, MacMahon resigned. Then the National Assembly elected a Republican president.

For nearly a century, France had passed from revolution to revolution, until the world came to doubt whether any French

Stability of
the Republic

government could be stable. The present constitution of France is the eleventh since 1789. Four times between 1792 and 1871 had the Republicans seized Paris; three times they had set up a republic; but never before had they truly represented the deliberate determination of the whole people. In 1879 they came into power, not by violence, but by an eight years' constitutional struggle against the political tricks of an accidental Monarchist majority. *This time it was the Republicans whom the conservative, peace-loving peasantry supported.* Even the World War did not bring any thought of a change in government.

Local
government

The important units of local government are the Departments and Communes (p. 418). For each Department the Minister of the Interior *appoints* a prefect. Besides general executive power, this officer *appoints* police, postmen, and other local authorities. In each Department there is also a general council (*elected* by manhood suffrage), with control over *local* taxation — except that *its decisions are subject to the approval of the central government.* Indeed, the central government may dissolve a Departmental council at any time, and order a new election.

The Communes of France (since the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine in the World War) number about forty thousand. They vary in size from great cities to rural villages with only two or three hundred people. Each has a mayor and a council. Until 1884, *the mayor* was appointed by the Minister of the Interior; since 1884, he has been elected by the municipal council. The central government, however, may revise his acts or even remove him from office. *The municipal council* is elected by manhood suffrage; but its acts are subject to the approval of the prefect of the Department or of the central government.

Such conditions do not seem very encouraging at first to an American student; but, as compared with the past in France, the situation is full of promise. Political interest is steadily growing in the Communes, and *Frenchmen are learning more and more to use the field of self-government open to them.*

No bill of rights

Unlike the previous French constitutions, the present constitution has no "*bill of rights*." That is, it has no provisions regarding jury trial, habeas corpus privileges, or the right of free speech. Even if it had, the courts could not protect the individual from arbitrary acts of the government by appealing to such provisions, because, in case of conflict between a citizen and the government, the suit is tried, not in the ordinary courts, but in *administrative courts*, made up of government officials. As a rule, the administrative courts mete out fair treatment; but in case of any supposed danger to the government, they *may* become its champions — at the expense of the rights of a citizen.¹ It is only too true, however, that in times of excited feeling other democracies with long bills of rights have shown quite as serious a disregard of personal liberty.

Administrative courts**Education**

The zeal of the early Revolutionists for education (p. 429) was not given time to produce results; and the restored monarchy gave little attention to public schools. *In 1827 a third of the Communes of France had no primary school whatever*, and nearly a third of the population could neither read nor write. The real growth of popular education dates from the Third Republic. To-day, in every Commune there is a primary school or group of schools. Education is free and compulsory, and the central government appoints teachers and regulates the courses of study. Each Department has an excellent system of secondary schools, called *lycées*; and the higher institutions are among the most famous in the world.

Industry

The advance of industry in the forty-three years between the Franco-Prussian and the World War was enormous. The yearly production of wealth tripled (though the population slightly decreased). Coal mines turned out four times as much coal in 1911 as in 1871, and the number of patents granted in 1911 was five times as many as in 1871. (It is to be kept in mind, too, that Germany had taken from France — in Alsace-Lorraine — its richest iron districts.)

¹ Special report: the Dreyfus trials.

This progress is the more remarkable when we remember that *France is preëminently an agricultural country*. The peculiar thing about French society, down to the World War, was the number of small land-owners and the prosperity of this landed peasantry. In 1900, more than half the entire population lived on the soil, and three fourths the soil was under crops. The great mass of cultivators owned little farms of from five to fifty acres. France supplied her population with foodstuffs, and exported a large surplus. The subdivision of the soil was carried so far that it was difficult to introduce the best machinery (though neighborhood associations were being founded to own machinery in common). The peasant was intelligent, industrious, thrifty, prosperous, happy, and conservative. He wished to educate his son, and he had a high standard of living, compared with other European peasantry. With five or six children, a farmer owning five or ten acres found it almost impossible to keep up this standard, and to leave his children as well off as he himself had been. Therefore the peasantry have not wished large families, *and for a long time population has been almost stationary*. (By the census of 1911 it was a little under forty millions, and the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine, with its two millions of people, somewhat more than balances in numbers the losses in the War.)

The French
peasantry

Population
stationary

Before the War this population was a "nation of little savers," and consequently a nation of money lenders. Through the nineteenth century, England had been the world's banker. In 1900, France was beginning to hold that place. After 1900, when a government wished to "float" a huge loan, or when capitalists wished to finance some vast industrial enterprise, France commonly furnished the cash. England still had more wealth than France; but it was largely "fixed" in long-time investments, while French wealth was held by a great number of people of small means, all seeking constantly for investments. The French national debt was not held, like the American or the English, in 1911, by men of great wealth, in large amounts, but by some 3,000,000 French people, — shopkeepers, clerks, artisans, day-laborers, small farmers, — in small amounts.

A nation of
"little
capitalists"

The French government under the Third Republic had encouraged this tendency of the workingman to "invest" savings, by putting bonds on sale at every village post office in small denominations — as low even as one franc (20 cents). (This admirable plan of encouraging all citizens to become "bondholders" — and "stockholders in the national prosperity" — was adopted by the United States, with the War Savings Stamps, during the World War.)

German invasion in 1914–1918 has made much of the fairest part of France a hideous desert, and has drained the rest of workers and of wealth. Up to this writing (December, 1921) the return of material prosperity is sadly delayed.

French politics: shifting ministries

Politics in France have been, much of the time, upon a lower level than business life. The best minds of France have not been present in the Assembly. That body has been broken into many parties, and the ministries have been kaleidoscopic in their changes. This meant woeful confusion and inefficiency; and the government has suffered from red tape and from a widespread taint of corruption in politics. After 1900 the Socialists gained power rapidly; and, in the election of 1914, they became the largest of the *nine* parties in the Assembly. All recent ministries had contained leading Socialists, but the war called back to power more conservative statesmen — in the war ministry of Clemenceau, "the Tiger."

Loss of the old colonies

About 1750 France bade fair to be the great colonial power of the world. Thirteen years later saw her stripped of all possessions outside Europe, except a few unimportant islands in the Indian Ocean and in the Antilles and some small ports in India (p. 399). In the nineteenth century France became again a colonial power. In 1830 the government of Charles X took advantage of an insult by the Dey of Algiers to a French consul to seize territory in North Africa. In the middle of the century this foothold had grown, through savage and bloody wars, into complete occupancy of Algeria. The Third Republic introduced civil rule, and since 1880, Algeria has been not so much

A new colonial empire since 1830

French Algeria

a foreign possession, or a colony, as a part of France separated from the rest by a strip of sea. The French make only a small part of the population, it is true, but the country is orderly and civilized. The settled portion, near the coast, is divided into Departments, like those in European France, with representatives in the French legislature. The inland parts are still barbarous and disorderly, but to this long-desolate Barbary coast, French rule has restored the fertility and bloom that belonged to it as the garden of the ancient Roman world.

Nearly all the rest of the vast French colonial empire has been secured since the Franco-Prussian War. Algeria was one of five great states on the Mediterranean coast of Africa, — Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt. All five had long been virtually independent Mohammedan kingdoms, though in name they had remained part of the decaying Turkish Empire. And all five, until Europeans stepped in, were in a vicious state of misrule, disorder, and tyranny. We have seen how in 1881 Egypt fell under England's "protection." France quickly regretted that she had so easily given up her claim to share in that rich land, and in the same year she seized gladly upon disorders in Tunis as an excuse for extending her authority, from Algeria eastward, over that country. In 1904 she began in like fashion to extend her sway in North Africa toward the west; establishing a protectorate over part of Morocco.

And Tunis

And
Morocco

Before seizing upon Tunis in 1881 — an act sure to arouse violent resentment in Italy, which looked upon Tunis as her own prey — the French government thought it necessary to lay its plans before Bismarck. That astute statesman at that time had not begun to have any colonial ambition for Germany, and he encouraged the French project, welcoming the chance to arouse hostility between France and Italy. (Indeed, with characteristic crookedness, he at the same moment encouraged Italy to hope for Tunis.) Soon afterward, however (p. 567), Germany herself entered the race for colonial empire; and in 1911 an extension of French rule in Morocco almost plunged Europe into war. William II of Germany sent a warship to

German
rivalry

Agadir, a harbor of Morocco, and "rattled the saber in the scabbard." But England supported France; and Germany was finally appeased by European consent to her seizing territory in the Kamerun (West Africa) and by the cession to her of part of the French Congo territory.

Other
French
colonies in
Africa

And in Asia

France has huge possessions in other parts of Africa, on both the east and west coasts, besides the great island of Madagascar (map facing p. 603). In America she holds Guiana (Cayenne), with a few ports in the Antilles. In Oceanica, between 1884 and 1887 she obtained New Caledonia and several smaller islands. Her most important colonies, outside Africa, are in the peninsula of Indo-China in southeastern Asia. Napoleon III seized Cambodia and Cochin China; and the Third Republic, with little more scruple, seized Tonking in 1884, Anam in 1886, and Siam to the Mekong in a savage war in 1893-1896. For many years, moreover, the "imperialistic" forces in France ("jingo" politicians and some large business interests) have sought an indirect control in Syria much like that which Germany was trying to establish in Asia Minor.

French co-
lonial ad-
ministration

At the same time, France is not herself a colonizing nation — any more than in the seventeenth century (p. 388). Even in the settled portions of her colonial empire the European population is small. The total area of the colonial possessions is about four million square miles, of which about three and a half million are in Africa. The orderly regions have a share in self-government, and most of them have representatives in the legislature at Paris.

Church
and state

Down to the World War, the most critical contest in the Third Republic was the Kulturkampf, the struggle between church and state for the control of education and indeed of other family relations. At the creation of the Third Republic, the state paid the expenses of all organized churches, Catholic, Protestant, or Mohammedan. Seventy-eight per cent of the French people in 1900 were members of the Catholic church;¹ but, even

¹ Mohammedanism is confined to Algeria. Two per cent of the people of France in 1900 were Protestants. Nearly twenty per cent had no church connection.

in so strongly Catholic a land, the people felt much distrust of *political* influence from the Catholic clergy.

This was largely because during the strenuous period from 1871 to 1879 the clergy threw their influence on the side of the Monarchists. Cried Gambetta, in one of his fiery orations, — "Clericalism! That is our foe." Accordingly, when the Republicans came into power, they hastened to weaken the church by taking from it its ancient control over the family. Marriage was made a civil contract (to be performed by a magistrate) instead of a sacrament; divorce was legalized, despite the teachings of the Catholic church against it; and all religious orders were forbidden to teach in either public or private schools.

For a time, *extreme* Catholics were driven into opposition to the government; but the wise Pope Leo XIII moderated the bitterness of the political warfare by recommending that French Catholics "rally" to the Republic and try to get the privileges they needed by influencing legislation (1893). On its side, the government then for a time let some of the anti-clerical laws rest unenforced. But about 1900, the Republicans and Radicals became alarmed again at the evidence of Monarchic sympathies still existing among the aristocracy, and even among army officers, and convinced themselves that these sympathies were due to the remaining clerical influence in the schools. In the years 1901-1903, thousands of church schools were closed by the police, sometimes amid riots and bloodshed. Pope Pius X protested, and deposed two French bishops who had acquiesced in the government's policy. The government recalled its ambassador from the papal court, and prepared a plan which it called "separation of church and state."

A law of 1905 declared the nation the owner of all church property in France. Each religious *congregation*, however, was invited to reorganize as a self-supporting "cultural association," with the permanent *use* of its old property. Protestant churches complied; but such organization was forbidden to Catholics by the pope as incompatible with the principles of the church.

In the elections of 1906, however, the nation gave an over-

whelming indorsement to the whole anti-clerical policy; and then the government evicted great numbers of Catholic clergy from their homes (for refusing to obey the law of 1905) and banished multitudes of them from the country. In 1914, when the great European war began, two thousand of these banished priests returned to France to fight in the ranks against the invaders of their country.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Hazen, Andrews, or Hayes. On the constitution. Lowell's *Greater European Governments*. For recent changes, *The Statesman's Year Book* or *The World Almanac*.

1871-1914

SCALE OF MILES





CHAPTER LVIII

THE GERMAN EMPIRE, 1871-1918

The Germanic Confederation of 1814-1867 was a loose confederacy of sovereign states. *The German Empire of 1871-1918 was a federal state.* The central government was strengthened by the change, somewhat as was ours in America when we exchanged our Articles of Confederation for our present Constitution.

But this German "federated" Empire was made up not of republican states but of monarchic states (4 kingdoms, 18 duchies, 3 "free cities"). The controlling body in the Empire was the Federal Council, consisting during most of its history of 56 delegates, *appointed* by the rulers of the different states and *directed* from day to day by those princes. This council (Bundesrath) *prepared* measures for the legislature, and had a veto upon all laws.

A despotic federal state

The Federal Council

The imperial legislature was the Reichstag — a one-House assembly elected by manhood suffrage. Of the 397 delegates, Prussia had 236. Practically, the power of this assembly was limited to accepting or rejecting proposals from the Bundesrath. Even its control over taxation was incomplete. Most revenue measures were *standing laws*. That is, once passed, they could not be changed without the consent of the Bundesrath. The imperial ministry, appointed by the Emperor, was called "responsible," but not in the English sense: it was not obliged to resign when defeated in the Reichstag.

The Reichstag

The imperial government was frugal and efficient. It made justice in the courts easy to secure; it guarded against food adulteration long before the rest of the world did; and in other ways it zealously protected the public health. But alongside this watchful paternalism, there were grievous faults. Ger-

The Empire a paternal despotism

Militarism

No security
for personal
liberty

many had been made by violence, and the result showed in *the spirit of militarism and in the predominance of the methods of the drill sergeant*. Police rule was all-pervading. Said a keen foreign observer (1896): "To live in Germany always seems to me like a return to the nursery." Even worse was the contemptuous and oftentimes brutal treatment of civilians by army officers. For years the newspapers contained reports of gross and unprovoked insults, and sometimes of violent assaults, by officers upon unoffending citizens, for which it was difficult to obtain redress in the courts. There was no security for personal rights. Trial by jury, freedom of the press, freedom of public meetings, and free speech existed only in a limited degree. To criticize the emperor in the press, ever so lightly, was likely to land the offender in jail for a considerable term.

The
Emperor
an autocrat

In theory, the emperor was only the life president of the federation. But this life presidency was *hereditary* in the kings of Prussia. The emperor was head of the army; and through his control over the ministry and over so large a part of the Bundesrath (he appointed the large Prussian delegation) he *controlled all foreign relations* and virtually held a veto upon all domestic legislation. *He held still mightier authority in the Empire from his position as despotic ruler of Prussia*. Prussia had three fifths of the population of the Empire, and more than that part of the power. Her divine-right "constitution" was the one "granted" by the king in '48 (p. 488). It left the king virtually an autocrat in Prussia; and Prussia's power made him an autocrat in the Empire.

The Prus-
sian consti-
tution,
1848-1918

Divine-
right
emperors

At his coronation, *William I* took the crown from the communion table, declaring, "The crown comes only from God, and I have received it from His hands." In 1888 William was succeeded by his son, *Frederick III*. Frederick was an admirer of parliamentary government upon the English pattern; but his three months' reign brought no change in the government.

Kaiser
William II

William II, the son of Frederick, returned to the principles of his grandfather. As a youth, he had been a great admirer of Bismarck; but it soon became plain that the two men were each too masterful to work together, and in 1890 the emperor curtly

dismissed the chancellor from office. Thereafter, William II himself directed the policy of the Empire, and he was a greater force in European politics than any other sovereign in Europe. He believed thoroughly in the "divine-right" theory, and he repeatedly stated it in as striking a form as ever did James I of England or Louis XIV of France, two or three centuries ago. In the Visitors' Book in the Town Hall of Munich, he wrote, "The will of the king is the supreme law." In an address to his army, he said: "On me, as German Emperor, the spirit of God has descended. I am His sword and His Vice-regent." "All-Highest" was a recognized form of address for the emperor. And the phrase ironically attributed to him — "Me und Gott" — is no great exaggeration of the patronizing way in which he often referred to the Almighty as a partner in his enterprises.

Some survey like the foregoing is needful to guard us against the "tyranny of names." England and Germany in 1914 were both "constitutional monarchies"; but that does not mean that they were in any way alike, even in government. They stood at the two poles of government. England had a democratic government, in which the monarchic and aristocratic survivals were practically powerless — mere matters of form; the German Empire was one of the most absolute autocracies in the world. England's ideals were based upon industry and world-peace: Germany's ideals were based upon militarism and conquest. Englishmen thought of the "state" as a condition for the full development of the individual man: Germans thought of individual men as existing primarily for the sake of the absolutist state.

Germany
and England

This divine-right militaristic autocracy was upheld (1) by the landed squires, or junkers, and (2) by the capitalists. The junkers were rural and largely a Prussian class, especially strong toward the east. The capitalists were a new class in Germany. The "industrial revolution," with the factory system, which had grown up in England before 1800 and in France by 1825,

Junkers and
capitalists

did not begin to make headway in Germany until nearly 1870. Then, indeed, manufactures and trade grew by leaps — aided by the coal and iron of Alsace-Lorraine and by subsidies from the huge war indemnity just then robbed of France.¹ The whole artisan class was trained to “efficiency” in trade schools, — which were distinctly class schools, suited on this German plan to an undemocratic land only, in which the son of an artisan must look for no “higher” station than his father. And on the other hand there appeared a new figure in German life, the princely manufacturing capitalist. After 1880, the thousands of this class took their place — alongside the junker nobility — as a chief support of German autocracy, with a vivid expectation of favors to be received in form of special privileges.

The Prussian army system

Europe adopts the German army system

German autocracy had also its physical arm. After 1866, the Prussian army system was extended over all Germany. At twenty each man was compelled to enter the ranks for two years' active service. For five years more he was a member of the “active reserves,” with two months in camp each year. These reserves were to be called out for regular service in case of war. For twelve years more he was listed in the territorial reserve — liable for garrison duty in time of war, and even for front rank service in special need. Exemption from training was usually allowed to the only son of a dependent widow and to those unfit because of physical defects.

The Prussian victories of 1866 and 1870 convinced all Europe of the superiority of this system over the old professional armies, and nearly every state in Europe soon adopted it, with slight variations. The burden was enormous — the most woeful waste of human energy the world ever saw — and the direct cost was far less than the indirect cost involved in withdrawing so large a part of each man's best years from productive

¹ All this meant a tremendous growth of cities. Hamburg grew from 350,000 people in 1870 to 1,000,000 in 1910; Berlin from 820,000 to 2,000,000; Essen from 50,000 to 300,000; while many wholly new centers of trade appeared where had been only farming hamlets. The population of the Empire doubled in these forty years, and all this increase was a city increase.

work. (England, trusting to her navy, and the United States, trusting to her position, were the only large countries that dared refuse the crushing burden — and for England the cost of her navy was almost as serious.)

Worse still, this militarism was a constant temptation to war. Rulers could not but regret leaving their costly tools to rust unused. Thousands of ambitious young officers in every land necessarily looked forward to war as a chance to justify their training and their cost, to the nation. And in the whole population, militarism developed a disposition to trust to force in dealing with other nations, rather than to good-will and reason.

Even worse, militarism develops a state of mind hostile to true democracy at home. Men come to exalt the army above the civil authorities, and to adopt a servile attitude toward autocratic army officers. All these evils were found in surprising degree in the German Empire, as compared with the rest of Europe, and in Prussia as compared with the rest of Germany.

For nearly twenty years after the Empire was established, Bismarck directed its course. The "Iron Chancellor" was a ruler of tremendous power of will; but he carried his policy of "blood and iron" into civil affairs — and failed. Three contests fill the period.

Bismarck's
rule

1. The Empire had brought Catholic and Protestant Germany under one government — which prepared the way for conflict. The first struggle, however, came within the Catholic church. In 1870 a General Council of the church declared the pope infallible (incapable of error) in promulgating doctrines of faith and morals. Many of the German Catholic clergy refused assent to this "innovation" in doctrine (as they regarded it) and took the name of *Old Catholics*. The orthodox bishops attacked this sect vigorously, and expelled instructors in the schools who did not teach the dogma of infallibility.

The struggle with
the Catholic
church

Then Bismarck stepped in to defend the Old Catholics and to assert the supremacy of the state over the church. Under his influence, the legislature expelled the Jesuits from Germany,

and took marriage and all education, *private* and public (even the education of the clergy) from the control of the church. To enforce these laws, priests were deprived of office, and were even punished by long terms of imprisonment or by exile. When the pope declared that the anti-clerical laws ought not to be obeyed, Bismarck confiscated ecclesiastical salaries and took into the government's hands all the property and revenues of the church. From 1875 to 1879, one fifth the parishes in Prussia had no clergy; schools and seminaries were closed; chairs of theology in the universities were vacant; houses of the clergy were raided by the police; and numbers of men of devoted Christian lives and broad scholarship languished in prison.

This persecution, however, steadily lost favor among the people. A strong and growing "Catholic" party in the Reichstag, "*the Center*," hampered all Bismarck's projects; and finally he was forced to make terms with it, in order to secure the legislation he desired against the Socialists and for tariffs. In 1880 the government began its retreat; and *it abandoned step by step every position it had assumed in the quarrel.*

Bismarck
and the
Socialists

2. Socialism did not become prominent in Germany until after 1848. German Socialism was founded by Karl Marx (p. 477), but its teachings were thrown among the masses by Lassalle, a brilliant writer and orator. When manhood suffrage was introduced (in the election of the Reichstag of the North German Confederation), the Socialists got their first chance. They held eight seats in the Reichstag of 1867. Faithful to their doctrine of human brotherhood, these men in 1870 earnestly opposed the war with France, especially after it became a war for conquest. This "unpatriotic" attitude resulted in a check. The leaders were tried for treason and condemned to years of imprisonment; and in the first Imperial Reichstag (1871) the party had only two representatives. But in 1874 the number had risen to nine, and in 1877, to twelve.

Repression
fails
again

Bismarck then began to feel it needful to put down Socialism. His first effort to secure repressive laws from the Reichstag failed, but it called out two attempts by Socialist fanatics to assassinate

sinated the emperor (1877, 1878). This played into Bismarck's hands and made the Reichstag ready to go all lengths against the "Red Specter." New laws gave the government authority to dissolve associations, break up meetings, confiscate publications, and imprison or banish suspects *by decree*. Not content with these extraordinary powers, Bismarck made them *retroactive*, and at once banished from Berlin sixty or seventy men who had *formerly* been connected with the Socialists.

The Socialists met this ruthless severity with as much fortitude as the Catholic clergy had shown in their conflict. Socialism for a time became an underground current. In 1881, just after the beginning of the repressive legislation, the Socialist vote fell off somewhat; but in the election of 1884 it had risen to over half a million — much more than ever before — and in 1887 it was over three fourths of a million. Then the repressive laws were allowed to expire. Again the Iron Chancellor had failed.

During the latter part of the struggle, Bismarck used also a wiser policy. He tried to cut the ground from under the feet of the Socialist agitators by improving the condition of the working classes, along lines pointed out by the Socialists themselves. In 1884 he said, — "Give the workingman *the right to work* while he is well, and assure him care when he is sick, and maintenance when he is old, and the Social Democrats will get no hold upon him." In accordance with this program, Bismarck favored the introduction of great public works to afford employment, and he created a state fund to help insure the injured and the aged.

Bismarck
tries state
socialism

In this "Social insurance," Germany was a pioneer — though England and France have since passed by her. The legislation, however, did not weaken Social Democracy. Indeed the Socialists railed at it as fear-inspired, poor-law legislation. To Bismarck, and to William II, it was the duty of the divine-right government to care for the laborer. To the Social Democrats, it was the right of the laborers themselves to control the government and to care for themselves through it.

Growth of
the Social-
ist party

It is convenient here to carry the topic of Socialism down to the Great War. After 1898 the Socialists were much the largest political party, gaining heavily in every election. In 1912 the total vote, 12,188,000, was split among fifteen parties, but the Socialists cast 4,239,000 of those votes — or more than twice as many as any other party. This was largely, no doubt, because the Socialist conventions had put first in their platforms a number of practical *political and economic measures* which the average American or Englishman would not regard as dangerous, — such as universal suffrage (including “votes for women”), the initiative and referendum, equal electoral districts, payment of members of the Reichstag, and responsibility of the government to the Reichstag.

Bismarck
and the
frontier
peoples

3. Equally violent, and more long-continued, was Bismarck's effort to Germanize the Poles of Posen, the Danes of Sleswig, and the French of Alsace. To each of these subject peoples, Germany forbade the use of its own language. The Sleswig Danes were not allowed to teach any history in their schools prior to the time when they were seized by Prussia. The Poles were tempted by the government to sell their lands to German immigrants; and, when instead they sold cheap to their own race, the lands were seized by the government (with compensation). But even then the Germans whom the government induced to settle in Posen rapidly became Poles in feeling, as those induced to settle in Alsace often became French. To the end, the delegates in the Reichstag from these three districts were always “in opposition” to the government. The Prussian system, begotten of force, had confidence only in force — and so proved itself unfit for the problems of modern life.¹

Growth of
German
commerce

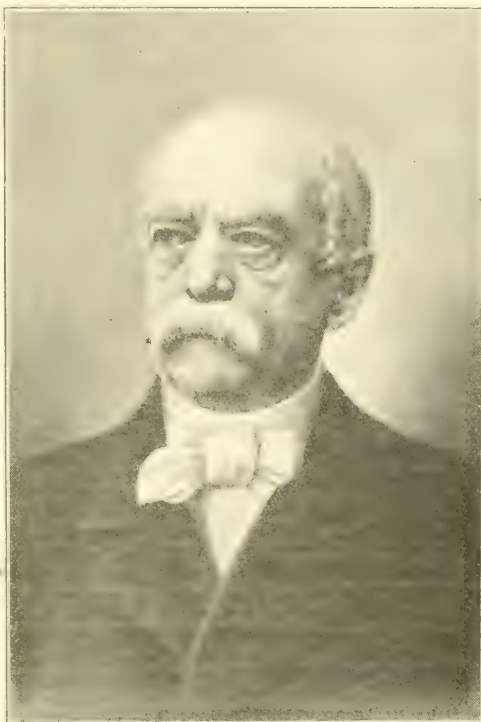
In still another matter, Bismarck's failure was less blamable. The old Germany of his youth had been an agricultural country. Foreign trade had been of little consequence. The new commercial Germany that grew up after 1870 he never felt any

¹ There should be no trouble in distinguishing between this policy of forceful Germanization of unwilling, conquered subjects, and our Americanization, by inducement, of those foreigners who of their own will have sought homes in our midst.

real sympathy for; but after a short resistance, in 1878, he yielded to its demands for high protective tariffs. *But the manufacturing interest began early to call also for a colonial empire, outside Europe, as a safe and "sole" market; and this demand Bismarck resisted for years.*

The demand for a colonial empire

But the manufacturers' demand for colonies was supported also by a people's demand. After 1880 the label "Made in Germany" began to be seen on all sorts of articles in all parts of the world, and before 1900 Germany had passed all countries except England and the United States in manufactures and trade. Still the nation was not content. Population was growing rapidly, and many millions had sought homes in other lands, mainly in the United States and in Argentina and Brazil. And so in



BISMARCK, after dismissal from office. —
From a photograph.

1884, partly to meet the commercial demands of the capitalists, and partly to keep future German emigrants under the German flag, *Bismarck reluctantly adopted the policy of acquiring colonies.*

At that time Germany had no possessions outside Europe, and no war navy. But, though late in entering the scramble for foreign possessions, she made rapid progress, especially after the young William II dismissed Bismarck from office in 1890. *William stood, not for Bismarck's policy of preserving the great existing Germany of that day, but for a new "Pan-German" policy of making Germany greater — by means even more un-*

Growth of the colonial empire

And the fall of Bismarck

scrupulous than those Bismarck had used — until she should be world-mistress.

Thereafter the colonial empire mounted by leaps. At the opening of the World War, Germany had vast possessions in Africa, a million square miles in all, mainly on the Guinea coast and in South Africa on both east and west coasts (map facing p. 603), many valuable groups of islands in the Pacific, and the Shantung province of China.¹ None of these acquisitions, however, interested German ambition so deeply as did one other advance — into Asia Minor — which began in earnest about 1900. Germany did not get absolute title to territory there; but she did secure from Turkey various rich concessions, guaranteeing her for long periods the sole right to build and operate railroads and to develop valuable mining and oil resources. This "economic penetration" she expected confidently to convert into full ownership.

Germany
the protec-
tor of
Turkey

To secure such concessions, Germany sought the Turk's favor in shameful ways. A growing moral sense in international matters made it impossible for England after 1880 to bolster longer the dastard Turkish rule over subject Christian peoples; but her old place was taken gladly by Germany, which loaned to the Sultan skilled officers to reorganize his armies and supplied him with the most effective arms against revolt by Christian natives (as in the Turkish war with Greece in 1897 over Cretan freedom).

This important change of English and German policy appeared plainly during the horrible "Armenian Massacres" of 1894-1895. To check a probable move for Armenian independence, the Turkish government turned loose upon that unhappy province — for the first of several times to come — hordes of savage soldiery to carry out a policy of frightfulness by licensed murder, pillage, and ravishment of a peaceful population. At once the English people in monster mass meetings

¹ Two German missionaries were murdered in China in 1897, and the Kaiser made that a pretext for this last seizure. A German Socialist paper in a satirical cartoon represented him as saying, — "If only my missionaries hold out, I may become master of all Asia."

called upon their government to intervene by arms. But Russia, fearful lest *her* Armenians might be encouraged to rebel, supported Turkey; France, just then hostile to England in colonial matters and bound to Russia as an ally, took the same side; and the German emperor chose this moment to send his photograph and that of his wife to the Assassin-in-chief of Turkey, to show his friendly adherence. From his retirement (p. 527) the aged Gladstone once more lifted his voice, urging that even under these hopeless conditions, England should alone take up the work of mercy; but the Tory prime minister, Lord Salisbury, confessing regretfully that in 1854 and 1878 "we put our money on the wrong horse," felt powerless to act.

This sharp opposition of policy was one reason why Germany came to look upon England as the chief foe to her expansion. Accordingly Kaiser William determined to make Germany a great naval power. He constructed the Kiel Canal, so that the navy might have perfect protection, and so that it might instantly concentrate in either the North Sea or the Baltic, and year by year, against violent Socialist resistance, he forced vast appropriations through the Reichstag to construct more and huger superdreadnoughts.

William
II and his
navy

FOR FURTHER READING. — Dawson's *Bismarck and State Socialism* and Russell's *German Social Democracy* are good treatments of their subjects. Davis' *Roots of the War* is especially good upon the old Germany, pp. 24-38, 162-248.

REVIEW EXERCISE. — Make a "brief," or outline, for the history of Germany from the French Revolution to the World War. Do the like for France and for England.

CHAPTER LIX

OTHER STATES OF CENTRAL EUROPE

I. ITALY

Government The constitution of Italy is the one given to Sardinia in 1848 (p. 496). It provides for a limited monarchy with a ministry "responsible" to the legislature. Until 1882 voting was restricted by a high property qualification to about one man in seven, but by 1913, by successive steps, virtual manhood franchise had been established. Local government is patterned upon that of France.

Education In 1861 Italy had no schools except those taught by religious orders, and only 26 per cent of the population (above six years of age) could read and write. The next twenty years, through the introduction of a fair system of free public schools, increased this percentage to 38; and twenty years more, to 44. The higher educational institutions are excellent; and in history and science Italian scholars hold high rank.

The crushing army system The kingdom of Italy at its birth was far behind the other great states of Europe. Its proper tasks were to provide for public education, to repress brigandage, to build railroads, to foster useful industries, to drain malarial swamps and reclaim abandoned lands, and to develop the abundant water power on the east slope of the Apennines so as to furnish electric power for manufacturing (particularly necessary since Italy has no coal). Progress in all this has been hindered by the poverty of the people and by tremendous expenses for military purposes. Italy was freed by force of arms, in 1859-1861. The new-born state, for many years more, feared that the work might be undone by France or Austria; so it adopted *the usual European military system*, with even longer terms of active service than were required in Germany or France.

Taxation is crushing; and yet, much of the time, the government can hardly meet expenses. For many years even before the World War, a fourth of the revenue went to pay the interest on the national debt, and a large part of the rest was for military purposes, leaving only a small part for the usual and helpful purposes of government. To make ends meet, the government was driven to desperate expedients. Salt and tobacco were made government monopolies; the state ran a lottery; and taxation upon houses, land, and incomes was so exorbitant as seriously to hamper industry.

Taxation

Economic distress led to political and socialistic agitation. The government at first met this by stern repressive legislation. Socialists and Republicans were imprisoned by hundreds; and for years at a time large parts of Italy were in "state of siege," or under martial law. The Radicals and Socialists, however, gained slowly in the parliament; and after 1900 violent repression was given up. Then at once it appeared, as in France, that the Socialists were a true political party; and of late years they have been strong even in the ministries.

Agitation
and politics

A large emigration leaves Italy each year, mainly for Brazil and the Argentine Republic. Partly in hope to retain these emigrants as Italian citizens, the government took up a policy of securing colonies. Indeed the new-born kingdom of Italy almost at once began to dream of renewing ancient Italian control in the Mediterranean. Just across from Sicily lay Tunis, one of the rich but anarchic provinces of the decaying Turkish Empire. To be ready to seize this plum when ripe, Italy began to build a navy, and, at crushing cost, she finally made hers among the most powerful in the world. But before she was quite ready to act, France stepped in (p. 555). Bitterly chagrined, Italy then used her military and naval force to secure valuable territory on the coast of Abyssinia (1885), and (1912-1913) to seize Tripoli from Turkey.

Army, navy,
and the
colonial
empire

Another difficulty about territory long troubled Italy. When Austria gave back "Venetia" to Italy in 1867, it was not by any means the ancient Venetia in extent. Old Venetia had reached down the east coast of the Adriatic, through Dalmatia;

Italia
Irredenta

and the modern seaport, Trieste, was still largely Italian in blood — though the country district about it was mainly Slav. Italy desired the Dalmatian coast, with complete control of both sides of the Adriatic.

In this matter, right and wrong were intermingled, so that a just solution of the problem was hardly to be expected. But another part of the same trouble was simpler. "Lombardy," redeemed in 1859, certainly should have included the Trentine district on the south slope of the Alps, with its purely Italian population; but, through the favor of Napoleon III, Austria retained it. This "Italia Irredenta" ("Unredeemed"), along with unredeemed Trieste, was a constant source of danger to European peace down to the World War.

State and
church

Italy has also a serious problem in the relations of state and church. In 1870, when Italy took possession of Rome, Pope Pius IX protested against the act as a deed of brigandage — though the citizens of Rome ratified the union by a vote of ninety to one. The government left the pope all the dignity of an independent sovereign, though his territory was reduced to a single palace (the Vatican) and some small estates. Within this domain the pope still keeps his own court, maintains his own diplomatic service, and carries on the machinery of a state. A generous annual income was also set aside for him by the government of Italy.

In common with many zealous Catholics, however, Pope Pius IX felt that to exercise his proper influence as head of the church, he must be an independent temporal prince in fact as well as in form. He refused to recognize the Italian state or to have anything to do with it, never left his palace grounds, and styled himself the "Prisoner of the Vatican." His successors (1921) have followed this policy, and the Catholic clergy have usually approved it. The great majority of the people of Italy, however, though almost unanimously Catholic in religion, have supported the government's policy. For a long time it seemed possible that, in case of a general European war, Austria might restore the old papal states by a partition of Italy.

II. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, TO 1914

Down to the World War, Austria remained "a tangle of races and a Babel of tongues." The peoples spoke eleven distinct languages, besides numerous dialects. A fourth of them were German (11 millions); a fifth Magyar, or Hungarian (9 millions); the rest were Italians, Jews, Illyrians, or Slavs. These Slavs made half the population, but they were broken up into many sub-races. Only the German language was allowed in the schools, the press, or the courts. For a Bohemian to publish a paper in his native language was a crime.

A "tangle
of races"

German
supremacy
to 1866

But in her wars of 1859 and 1866, Austria found her subject peoples a source of weakness rather than of strength, and saw that they rejoiced at her defeats. German Austria at last was given a free parliament; but this did not conciliate the powerful non-German populations; and finally the *two* strongest elements (German and Hungarian) joined hands to help each other keep control over all the others. "Austria-Hungary" became a dual monarchy, a federation of two states. Each half of the Empire had its own constitution, and the two halves had the same monarch and a sort of common legislature.

These arrangements of 1867 sacrificed the Slavs. The Germans remained dominant in the Austrian half of the Empire, and the Magyars in the Hungarian half. The union of the two was not due to any internal ties, but wholly to selfish fears. Without Hungarian troops the Austrian Germans and their emperor could not any longer hold Bohemia in subjection; and without Austria to support her, Hungary would lose her border Slav districts and perhaps be herself absorbed in Slav Europe.

Of course such a union was one of unstable equilibrium. Bohemia continued to demand, if not independence, at least that she be admitted into the imperial federation as an equal third state. The Poles of Austria and of Hungary hoped for a revival of an independent Poland. The Italians longed to be annexed to Italy. The Roumanians of eastern Hungary wished to be joined to free Roumania. The Croats and Slovaks desired

Aspirations
of subject
peoples

independence or union with Serbia. With the progress of humanity and education, toward the twentieth century, it became less possible for the two dominant races to use the old cruel methods to keep down the subject peoples. For many years, historians had ventured to prophesy that a general European war, if one came, would probably end this ill-sorted conglomerate state.

III. SPAIN

Despotism
from 1815
to 1833

We have seen that the Holy Alliance restored despotism in Spain in 1823 (p. 459). For the next ten years the Liberals were persecuted vigorously. To own a foreign book was a crime. In 1831 a woman was hanged in Madrid for embroidering on a flag the words, "Law, Liberty, Equality."

"Government by
revolution," 1833-
1873

The cruel and suspicious King Ferdinand died in 1833; but, for forty years more, Spain passed from revolution to revolution, — none for liberty, each for some ruler or military chieftain — with many "paper constitutions." The government was "government by revolt" — with surprisingly little bloodshed. It has been wittily said that during this period "revolution in Spain became a fine art."

Castelar's
presidency

For two years (1873-4) the Republicans got control of the government. They elected one of their leaders, Castelar, president, but they gave him an unworkable constitution. To save his country from bloody anarchy, Castelar after a few months turned his vague legal authority into a beneficent dictatorship. The choice, he saw, lay between bayonet rule in the hands of disciplined troops controlled by good men, and pike rule in the hands of a vicious rabble led by escaped galley slaves. He candidly abandoned his old theories, and with wise energy brought order out of chaos.

It was natural that he should be assailed as a tyrant. When the Cortes reassembled, his old friends passed a vote of lack of confidence. The commander of the troops asked for permission to disperse the Cortes; but, by resigning promptly, Castelar showed that he had no wish to prolong his personal authority. To-day no one doubts his good faith or good judgment, and the

name of this republican statesman-author-dictator stands out as the chief glory of Spain in the nineteenth century.

Castelar's resignation was followed by anarchy and more revolutions; but in 1876 the restoration of the monarchy, with the present constitution, introduced Spain to a somewhat more hopeful period. The government in theory rests mainly in the Cortes. This body consists of a Senate and a Congress. Half the senators are *elected*, while the rest are *appointed for life*. The congressmen are elected by *manhood suffrage* (since 1890). The ministry is expected to resign if outvoted in the Cortes, but, in practice, *parliamentary majorities do not yet really make ministries*. Instead, ministries make parliamentary majorities, as in England a century and a half ago (p. 384); but since 1876 no party has "called in the infantry."

Constitutional monarchy, 1876. The government

Until 1881 the energies of the government went mainly to restoring order. Then, for ten years, reform crowded upon reform. Jury trial was introduced; civil marriage was permitted; popular education was encouraged; the franchise was extended; the slaves in the colonies were freed; and the system of taxation was reformed. As a result, trade has mounted by bounds; manufactures have developed; railroads and telegraphs have been tripled. Population has doubled in the last century, rising from ten millions to twenty, and the growth has been especially rapid in the last decades. Above all, the number of peasant land-owners is rapidly increasing.

Ten years of reform, 1881-1890

Until 1898, the surviving colonial empire (Cuba, the Philippines, and so on) was a drag upon progress. After 1876 a series of efforts was made to give good government and some measure of self-control to Cuba, which had been in incessant and wasting rebellion; but the problem was too difficult to be worked out by a country so backward at home. In 1894 Cuba rose again for independence. Spain made tremendous efforts to hold her, and for some years, at an immense cost, maintained an army of 200,000 men at a distance of 2000 miles from home. The warfare, however, was reducing Cuba to a desert; and finally, in 1898, the United States interfered. The Spanish-American

Loss of Cuba

War resulted in the surrender of all the Spanish colonies, except a few neighboring islands and some districts in northwest Africa.

Poverty and
taxation

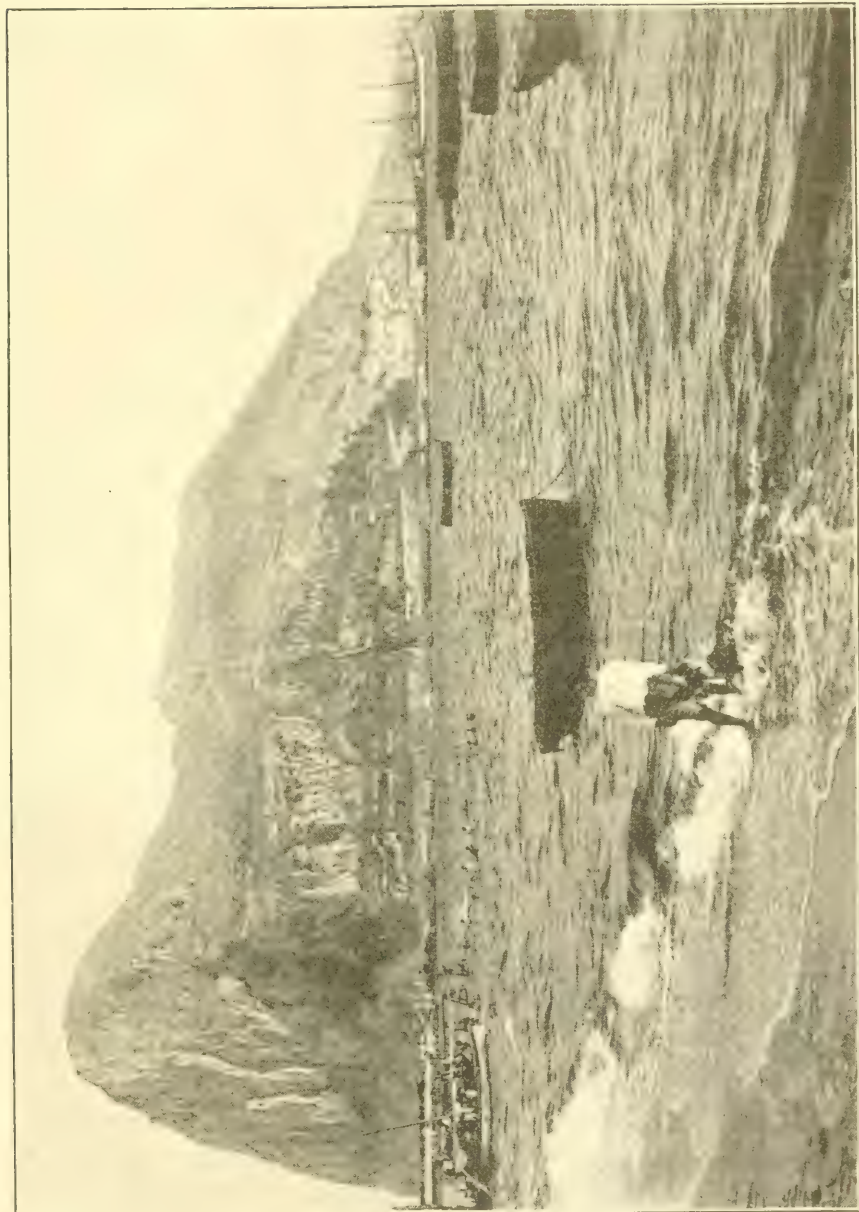
It may be hoped that this loss will prove a gain. The poverty of the government has been serious. The interest charge on the huge national debt is a crushing burden, and until 1900 the debt itself was constantly growing. Now that Spain no longer has the task of holding distant colonial possessions, she may conclude to reduce her absurd army system and to use the money for the development of the intellect of the people and of the resources of the land. She still has ambitions, however, to extend her colonial possessions in Africa; and she long kept a natural hope that, in case of a general European war, she might regain Gibraltar. This last consideration went far to make her somewhat pro-German in the World War.

Religion
and
education

Catholicism is the state religion. Though the constitution promises "freedom of worship," no other religious services are permitted *in public*. In this respect Spain is the most backward of European lands. She is also sadly backward in education. There is a compulsory education law, but it is a paper edict. In 1909 a government investigation found 30,000 towns and villages with no public school whatever, while in 10,000 other places the schools were in hired premises — many of them grossly unfit for the purpose, — connected with slaughter-houses, cemeteries, or stables. The only schools in most of the country, outside these public schools, were "nuns' schools," teaching only the catechism and needlework. Only one fourth of the population could read and write.

Spanish Liberals have wished to change all this radically, (1) by *separating church and state*, and (2) by *excluding clerical control from the schools*. But the introduction of manhood suffrage in 1900 proved disastrous to such reforms. It strengthened the Clericals and Conservatives in the Cortes, because of the absolute obedience paid at elections by the peasants to their priests, and for many years progress in education and in politics has almost ceased.

PLATE XCIII



GIBRALTAR, seen from the Spanish shore. The cliff is lined with concealed batteries.

IV. THE REPUBLIC OF PORTUGAL

In 1821, as one of the results of the Spanish revolution of 1820, the king of Portugal accepted a constitution. For many years, however, the country was distracted by revolutions, and by wars between claimants for the crown; but in 1910 a sudden uprising set up a republic, which so far (1921) seems stable. English influence controls foreign relations, so that Portugal is, in practice, almost an English protectorate.

Establish-
ment of the
Republic

Until 1910 Catholicism was the state religion. Indeed there were only a few hundred people of other faiths in the country. But the Republican government at once established *complete religious freedom*, confiscated the church property, and adopted a plan for the "separation of church and state" like that set up in France in 1906. Education, by law, is universal and gratuitous; but in practice the children of the poor do not attend school. The schools, too, are very poor. Portugal is more illiterate even than Spain.

Religion
and
education

Colonies are still extensive (in the Verde islands, in Africa, and in India), but they do not pay expenses, and it is doubtful whether so poor a country can afford to keep them. Their administration is very bad.

Present
problems

For thirty years the national finances have been on the verge of bankruptcy.

V. BELGIUM

The constitution of Belgium is still that of 1831, with a few amendments. The king acts only through "respónsible" ministers. In 1831 the franchise rested upon the payment of a high tax; and even in the 'eighties only one man in ten could vote. Agitation began for further extension of the franchise; but the parliament voted down bill after bill. Finally, in 1893 the Labor party declared a general strike, in order to exert political pressure, and the crowds of unemployed men in Brussels about the parliament house threatened serious riots. The militia, too, showed a disposition to side with the rioters. The members of parliament, looking on from the windows, changed their

A demo-
cratic
franchise

minds, and quickly passed a new franchise law, providing for *manhood suffrage, with plural votes (one or two extra votes) for wealth and education*. In 1919 (after the World War) plural votes were abolished. The leading political parties are the Clericals and the Laborites, or Socialists.

For many years Belgium ranked among the leading industrial nations. In 1910 the population was seven and a half millions — more than double that in 1815. The people were happy, contented, and prosperous. Then for more than four years (1914-1918) this little land was ravaged by the World War.

VI. DENMARK

The king of Denmark granted a paper constitution in 1848; but real constitutional government began only after the defeat of 1864. Two years of democratic agitation then secured the constitution of 1866. This document promises freedom of speech and of the press, and creates a Diet (Rigsdag) of two Houses. The Landthing, or upper House, is composed partly of members appointed by the king, partly members elected on a very high property basis. The Folkthing, or lower House, is elected. In 1901 the vote was given to all self-supporting men, thirty years of age, and in 1915 it was extended to all men and most women. In 1901, after a thirty years' contest, ministries were made responsible to the Representatives.

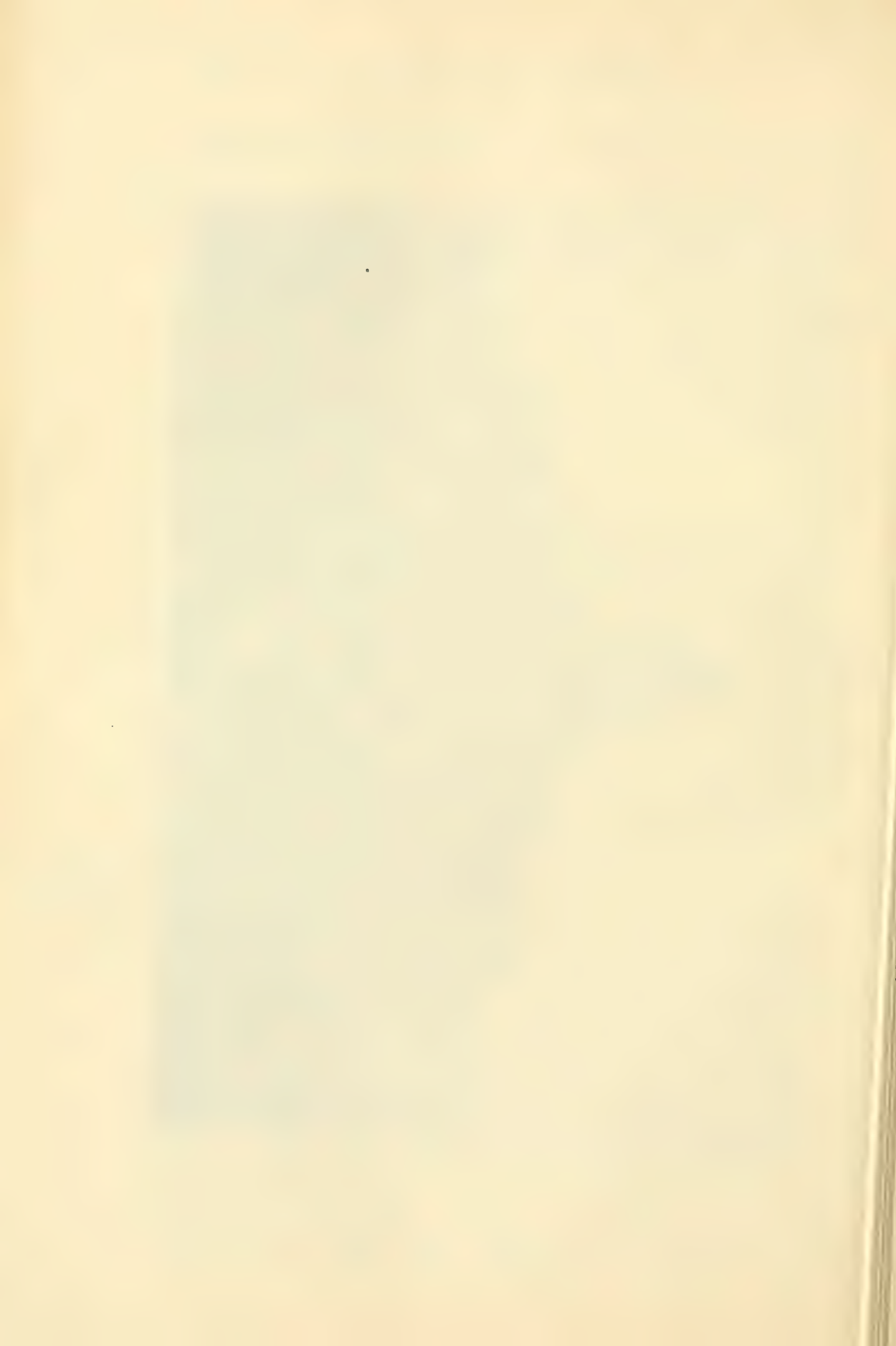
Coöperation
and the
high schools

Denmark is the special home of coöperation among farmers. The land is not naturally fertile. The people, until after the middle of the nineteenth century, were poor and ignorant. Agriculture was backward, and the defeat by Prussia and Austria in 1864 left the little state impoverished. Its people were *forced* to seek some escape from their condition.

A new system of schools pointed the way. Denmark contains 15,000 square miles with nearly three millions of people. That is, it has more people than Indiana, in less than half the territory. More than a third of these people are farmers. For them, ninety-eight high schools give instruction in agriculture and domestic economy, — twenty of the ninety-eight being special schools in agriculture. Most of these schools, too, give



PALAIS DE JUSTICE, BRUSSELS, BELGIUM.



special "short courses" in the winter, and these are largely attended by adult farmers and their wives. The schools are not merely industrial; even the short courses emphasize music and literature. They aim to teach not merely how to get a living, but also how to live nobly. And they have taught the Danish farmers the methods of successful coöperation. To-day Denmark is one of the most progressive and prosperous farming countries in the world.

Local coöperative societies are found in almost every distinct line of farm industry, — in dairying, in the hog industry, in marketing eggs, in breeding cattle, in producing improved seed, in securing farm machinery, in farm loans. The local societies are federated into *national* organizations. The central society that markets eggs and dairy products has an office in London as well as in Copenhagen, and owns its own swift steamers to ply daily between the two capitals. Denmark supplies England's forty millions with a large part of their eggs, bacon, and butter, — \$10,000,000 worth, \$32,000,000 worth, and \$50,000,000 worth, respectively, in 1911.

Thanks to the coöperative system, the profits go to the producers, not to middlemen. Best of all, the Danish peasant, on eight or ten acres of land, is an educated man, cultured because of his intelligent, scientific mastery of his work. The coöperative movement in agriculture is found also, in only a slightly smaller degree, in Belgium, Holland, Norway, and Sweden.

VII. NORWAY AND SWEDEN

The Congress of Vienna, in 1814, took Norway from Denmark and gave it to Sweden (p. 450), to reward that country for services against Napoleon. But the Norwegian people declined to be bartered from one ruler to another. A Diet or Storting, assembled at *Eidvold*, declared Norway a sovereign state, and adopted a liberal constitution (*May 17, 1814*). Sweden, backed by the Powers, made ready to enforce its claims, but finally a compromise was arranged. The Diet elected the Swedish king as king of Norway also *on condition that he should recognize the new Norwegian constitution*. That document made

The
"union" of
1814

the sittings of the Storting wholly independent of the king's will, and also provided that the royal veto should have no effect upon a bill passed in three successive sessions.



A NORWEGIAN FJORD. — SOGNDAL.

Norway's
struggle for
self-govern-
ment

Storting
and royal
vetoes

The union lasted almost a century, but there was a growing chasm between the two lands. Sweden had a strong aristocracy and a considerable city population. Norway even then had only a weak aristocracy, and was a land of independent peasants and sturdy fisherfolk and sailors. In the early part of the century the Storting succeeded in abolishing nobility in Norway, after two vetoes by the king, and in 1884 it established manhood suffrage against his will. Meantime there had begun agitation for a greater amount of self-government.

In 1872-1874 the Storting passed a bill three times, requiring the ministries to resign if outvoted. King Oscar II declared that this was an amendment to the constitution. In such a case, he urged, the rule limiting his veto could not apply, and he declined to recognize the law. Civil war seemed at hand; but a new election in 1884 showed that the Norwegians were almost unanimous in the demand, and the king yielded. (Oscar

II came to the Swedish throne in 1872, and his moderation and fairness had much to do on other occasions also with preventing an armed conflict, which impetuous men on either side were ready to precipitate. He was one of the greatest men who sat upon European thrones in the last century.)

This victory made the real executive in Norway Norwegian, for all *internal affairs*. The Storthing passed at once to a demand for power to appoint Norwegian consuls. But the constitution had left the regulation of *foreign* affairs in the king's hands; and the Swedish party exclaimed with some reason that the proposed arrangement would ruin the slight union that remained between the two countries, and that it was unconstitutional. Again King Oscar insisted that on such a matter his veto could not be overridden. Finally in 1905, after twenty years of strenuous struggle, the Storthing by almost unanimous vote declared the union with Sweden dissolved. The aristocratic element in Sweden called for war; but King Oscar was nobly resolute that the two peoples should not imbrue their hands in each other's blood. The Swedish labor unions, too, threatened a universal strike, to prevent violent coercion of their Norwegian brethren. In July the Norwegians declared in favor of independence in a great national referendum, by a vote of 368,000 to 184. Sweden bowed to the decision. In September, 1905, to the eternal honor of both peoples, a peaceful separation was arranged upon friendly terms; and then independent Norway chose a Danish prince (Haakon VII) for king.

In 1901 the Storthing gave the franchise in all municipal matters to women who paid (or whose husbands paid) a small tax. In 1907 the parliamentary franchise was given to the same class of women. Thus, Norway was the first sovereign nation to give the franchise to women.

Norway
leads in
woman
suffrage

Until late in the nineteenth century Sweden was backward in politics. The Diet was made up, medieval fashion, of four estates — nobles, clergy, burgesses, and peasants — and the king could always play off one class against another. In 1866 this arrangement was replaced by a modern parliament of two

Swedish
reform
since 1866

Houses, but for nearly half a century more the franchise excluded a large part of the adult males. Agitation for reform began vehemently in 1895. Seventeen years later, the right to vote for members of the lower House of the parliament was given to all adult men, but with "plural" votes for wealth. At the same time women secured the franchise for all matters of local government. Then in 1919, sweeping reforms abolished plural voting and established simple universal suffrage for men and women in both national and local affairs.

VIII. THE SWISS REPUBLIC

Condition
in 1830

The Congress of Vienna left the Swiss cantons in a loose confederacy (p. 452), not unlike that of the United States before 1789.

The Sonder-
bund War

The first great change grew out of religious strife. The rich city cantons were Protestant, and after 1830 they became progressive in politics. The old democratic cantons were Catholic, and were coming to be controlled by a new conservative Clerical party. The confederacy seemed ready to split in twain. The final struggle began in Aargau. In this canton, in the election of 1840, the Progressives won. The Clericals rose in revolt. To punish them, after suppressing the rising, the Progressives dissolved the eight monasteries of the canton. This act was contrary to the constitution of the Union; and the seven Catholic cantons in alarm formed a separate league, — the Sonderbund, — and declared that they would protect the Clericals in their rights in any canton where they might be attacked.

The Federal Diet, now controlled by the Progressives, ordered the Sonderbund to dissolve; and in 1847 "The Sonderbund War" was begun — seven cantons against fifteen. The despotic Powers of the Holy Alliance were preparing to interfere in behalf of the Sonderbund, but the Unionists (warned and encouraged by the English government) acted with remarkable celerity and crushed the Secessionists in a three weeks' campaign.¹ Metternich still intended to interfere, but the revolu-

¹ There are interesting points of likeness between the civil war in Switzerland and that a little later in the United States. In both countries there

PLATE XCV



MOUNT BLANC AND CHAMONIX, a typical Swiss town.

tions of 1848 rendered him harmless. Then the Progressives remodeled the constitutions of the conquered cantons, so as to put power into the hands of the Progressives there, and adopted a new national constitution, which made *the union a true Federal Republic*.

The Federal Assembly (national legislature) has two Houses, — *the Council of the States* and *the National Council*. The first consists of two delegates from each canton, chosen by the cantonal legislature. The second House *represents the people of the union*, the members being elected in single districts, like our Representatives. The franchise is given to all adult males, and elections take place on Sundays, so that all may vote. *The Federal Executive* is not a single president, but a committee of seven (*the Federal Council*), chosen by the Federal Assembly.

The Consti-
tution

Each canton, like each of our States, has its own constitution and government. In a few cantons the old folkmoot, or primary Assembly, is still preserved; in the others the legislature consists of one chamber, chosen by manhood suffrage. In each there is an executive *council*, not a *single* governor.

As a rule, even in modern democratic countries, the people govern themselves only indirectly. They choose representatives (legislatures and governors), and these “delegated” individuals attend directly to matters of government. Switzerland, however, has shown that “direct democracy” can work under modern conditions. The two Swiss devices for this end are known as *the referendum* and *the popular initiative*.

Direct
legislation

The *referendum* consists merely in referring laws that have been passed by the legislature to a popular vote. This practice really originated in America. The State of Massachusetts submitted its first constitution to a popular vote in 1778 and in 1780. The French Revolutionists adopted the practice for

The
referendum

was a conflict between a national and a states sovereignty party. In both, as a result of war, the more progressive part of the nation forced a stronger union upon the more backward portion. In both, too, the states which tried to secede did so in behalf of rights guaranteed them in the old constitution, which they believed to be endangered by their opponents.

their constitutions, and the plebiscites of the Napoleons extended the principle to some other questions besides constitutions. In America, after 1820, nearly all our States used the referendum on the adoption of new constitutions and of constitutional amendments.

But Switzerland taught the world how to go farther than this. By the constitution of 1848, all constitutional amendments, cantonal or national, *must* be submitted to popular vote, and in some cantons this compulsory referendum is extended to all laws; while, by an amendment of 1874, a certain number of voters *by petition may require the submission of any national law*. (This "optional" referendum has been in use in the separate cantons for most of the nineteenth century.)

The
initiative

The popular initiative is a Swiss development. It consists in the right of a certain number of voters, by petition, to frame a new bill and to *compel* its submission to the people. A little before 1848, this device began to be regarded as the natural complement of the referendum. By 1870, in nearly all the cantons a small number of voters could introduce any law they desired. In 1891, by amendment, this liberal principle was adopted for the national government: *a petition of fifty thousand voters may frame a law, which must then be submitted to a national vote*.

Thus the people, without the intervention of the legislature, can frame bills by the initiative, and pass on them by the referendum. These devices for direct legislation are the most important advances made in late years by democracy. (Recently, many of the more progressive States of the American Union have carried them, with the further device of the *recall*, to a higher degree of perfection even than in their Swiss home.)

Place in
history

In other respects also Switzerland has made amazing advances and to-day it is one of the most progressive countries in the world. The schools are among the best in Europe: no other country has so little illiteracy. Comfort is well diffused. The army system is a universal militia service, lighter than has been known anywhere else in continental Europe during the last forty years. Two thirds of the people are German; but

French and Italian, as well as German, are "official" languages, and the debates in the Federal Assembly are carried on in all three tongues. The universal patriotism of the people is a high testimonial to the strength of free institutions and of the flexible federal principle, in binding together diverse elements. Said President Lowell, of Harvard, a few years ago, "The Swiss Confederation, on the whole, is the most successful democracy in the world."

CHAPTER LX

RUSSIA

Growth of territory

Russia's destruction of Napoleon's Grand Army, in 1813, revealed her tremendous power. In the fifteenth century (p. 395), the Russians held only a part of what is now South Central Russia, nowhere touching a navigable sea. Expansion, since then, has come partly by colonization, partly by war (pp. 395, 396, 402).

The Trans- Siberian Railway

In Asia, Russian advance after 1800 was steady and terrifying. She aimed at ice-free Pacific ports on the east, and at the Persian Gulf and the Indian seas on the south, besides the rich realms of Central Asia and India. In 1858 she reached the Amur, seizing northern Manchuria from China. Two years later she secured Vladivostok — ice-free for most of the year. In 1895 the Trans-Siberian Railway was begun, and in 1902 that vast undertaking was completed to Vladivostok. This road is more than 5000 miles long,— nearly double the length of the great American transcontinental roads. Eventually it must prove one of the great steps in the advance of civilization; and it has been fitly compared in importance to the finding of the passage around the Cape of Good Hope or the building of the Suez or Panama canals. Meanwhile Russia had compelled China to cede the magnificent harbor of Port Arthur (p. 608) and the right to extend the Trans-Siberian Railroad through Chinese Manchuria to that port (1898).

The danger to India

On the south, just after the opening of the nineteenth century, Russia secured the passes of the Caucasus. By the middle of the century she had advanced into Turkestan. From that lofty vantage ground she planned a further advance, and by 1895 she extended a great Trans-Caspian railway to within seventy-five miles of Herat, the "key to India."

Great Britain seemed ready to resist further advance by war; but a clash in Central Asia was postponed by Japan's victory in the extreme East.

In the last years of the nineteenth century Russia was busied with vast internal improvements, — not only the great railroads mentioned above, from Moscow to the Pacific and to the frontiers of India, but also a stupendous system of canals to connect her internal waterways. Under such conditions at home, Russia had every reason to desire peace abroad; but in 1904 the arrogant folly of her military classes plunged her into a war with Japan as unjust as it proved ruinous. To the amazement of the world, Russia's huge power collapsed utterly on land and sea, and she was thrust back from Port Arthur and Manchuria (pp. 605-611). Russia still covered eight and a half million square miles (between two and three times the area of the United States), or about one seventh the area of the habitable earth; and she had a population of one hundred and sixty millions — just about equal in number to the whole group of English-speaking peoples.

Checked by
Japan

Extent in
1910

At the end of the Napoleonic wars, many young Russian officers came back to their homes full of the ideals of the French revolution. The Tsar himself (Alexander I, 1801-1825) had been educated by a liberal French tutor; and for a time, in a weak, sentimental, indecisive way, he favored a liberal policy, and introduced a few reforms. Metternich won him from these tendencies; and then many educated and liberal Russians began to be conspirators against Tsarism.

Revolution-
ary move-
ments

The cause of the conspirators was long hopeless, because it had no interest for the masses. Nowhere else in the world was the gap so complete between upper and lower classes. Four fifths the population of European Russia were serfs, filthy, ignorant, degraded, living in a world wholly apart from that of the small class of educated Russians.

The serfs

Besides the serfs, the rural population comprised a numerous nobility, who were landed proprietors; and in the cities there were small professional and mercantile classes. For two hun-

And society

dred years (since Peter the Great) these upper classes had had at least a veneer of Western civilization. At the opening of the nineteenth century their conversation was carried on, not in Russian, but in French; and their books, fashions, and largely their ideas, were imported from Paris.

The revolutionary conspirators from these upper classes were romantic dreamers. In December of 1825, the revolutionists attempted a rising. They met with no popular support, and the new Tsar Nicholas (1825-1855) exterminated almost the entire group with brutal executions, often under the knout. This cruelty, however, made "the Decembrists" martyrs to the next generation of generous-minded Russian youth; and their ideas lived on in the great Russian writers of the middle of the century, like Gogol and Turgeniev.

**Beginning
of the
Slavophil
movement**

The reign of Nicholas I was marked also by the beginning of Slavophilism. This was a movement among the educated classes to establish a native Russian culture, in contrast to the imported Western veneer. The Russians had begun to believe in themselves as the future leaders of a new civilization. They looked forward to a vast Pan-Slav empire (to include Bohemia and the Slav states of the Balkans) which should surpass Western Europe both in power and in the character of its culture. Nicholas gave his support heartily to the Slavophiles, in large part because he despised the Western ideas as to liberty and constitutional government.

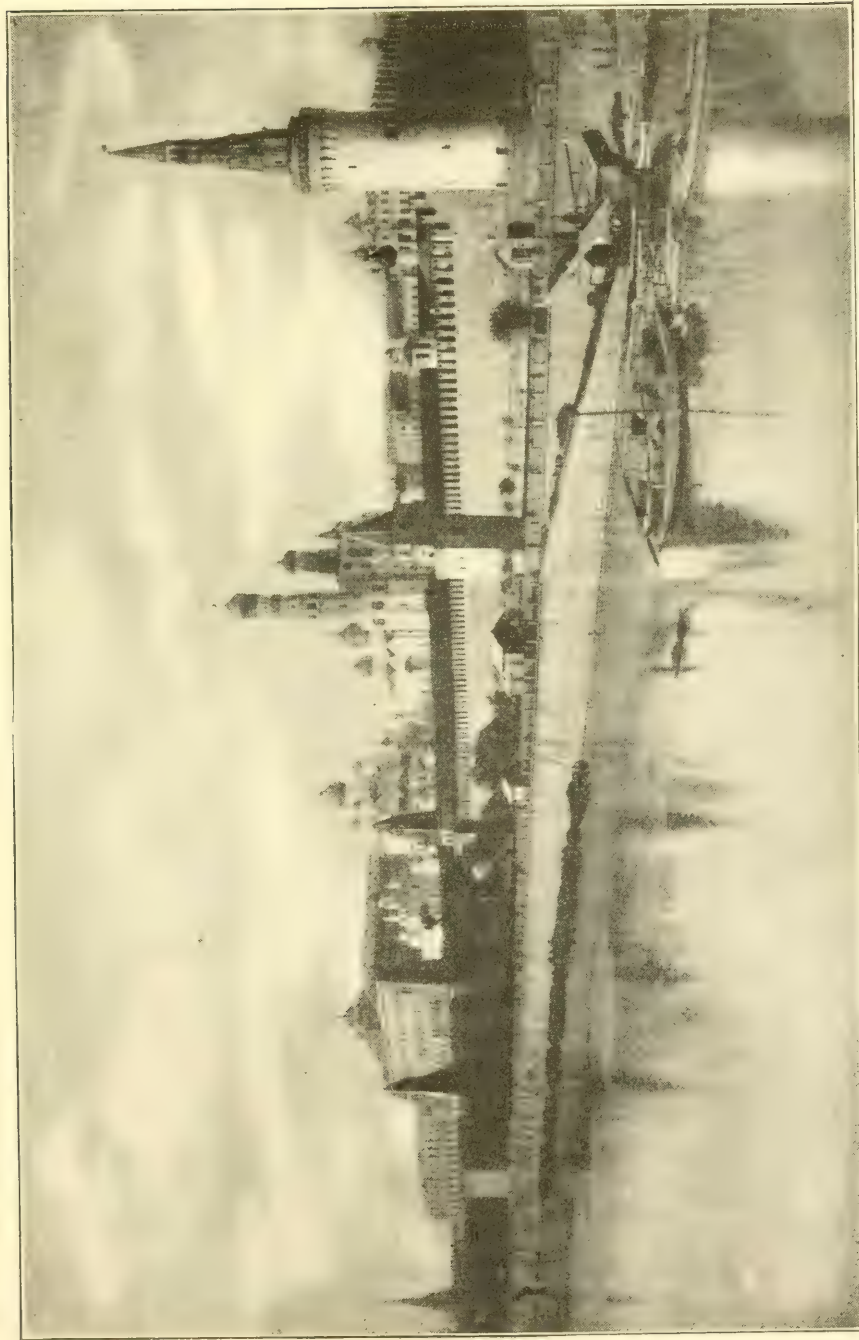
**Reforms of
Alexander II**

In the closing years of Nicholas, however, the humiliation of the Crimean War (p. 495) revealed the despotic bureaucratic system as weak, when pitted against Western Europe; and this helped the Russian liberals to win to their side the new Tsar, Alexander II (1855-1881). Alexander struck the shackles from the press and the universities, sought to secure just treatment for the Jews, introduced jury trial, established a system of graded representative assemblies in the provinces (the *zemstvos*), and, in 1861, against the almost unanimous opposition of the nobles, emancipated the fifty million serfs.

**Emancipa-
tion of the
serfs**

Not only were the serfs freed from the jurisdiction of the nobles and from obligation to serve them: they were also given

PLATE XCVI



THE KREMLIN, MOSCOW; --- a view from the Moskva-embankment. "Kremlin" is the Russian name for a city fortress, somewhat like the Greek *acropolis*. The walls of the Moscow Kremlin inclose 98 acres, with the most famous temples and palaces of old Moscow and with the modern palace and government building in the background.

land. This of course was necessary if the peasants were to live at all. The land, like the serf, was taken from the noble; but not by confiscation, and not enough of it. Each village community (mir) was to pay for its land. The Tsar paid the noble landlord down; and the mir was to repay the Tsar in small installments spread over forty-nine years. Alexander and his liberal friends intended each village to receive at least as much land as the villagers had had for their support while serfs; but the noble officials, who carried out the details, managed to cut down the amount of land and to make the price unduly high. The peasants found themselves at once forced to eke out their scanty income by tilling the land of the neighboring landlord — on his terms. The annual "redemption payments" to the government, too, were excessive. More than half the peasant's labor went to satisfy the tax-collector. By 1890, one third the peasant body had pledged their labor one or more years in advance to the noble landlords — and so had been forced back into a new serfdom. The peasants remained ignorant and wretched, with a death-rate double that of Western Europe. As late as 1900, half their children died under the age of five; and every now and then large districts were devastated by famine — while vast tracts of fertile land lay uncultivated.

And the
land
problem

The peas-
ants reën-
slaved

At the emancipation, the peasants refused to believe that the Tsar meant to give them such small allotments; and in countless places they rose in bloody riots against the nobility and the Tsar's officers. The reactionary parts of society urged upon Alexander that such risings were the product of the progressive writers and newspapers he had encouraged. As early as 1862 the Tsar was won to this view, and began to suppress the liberal press. Writers who had thought themselves within the circle of his friendship were imprisoned in secret dungeons or sent to hard labor in Siberian mines, — without trial, merely by decree, — and the brutal police sought to crush out all liberalism by barbarous cruelty.

Alexander's
vacillating
policy

Persecution
of liberals

The liberals, in the 'sixties, had come to include the great body of university students. These youths, — men and women

The
Nihilists

of good family, — ardent for the regeneration of their country, now organized societies to spread information about the peasants' misery among the upper classes, and socialistic ideas among the peasants, and in the later 'seventies one branch of these persecuted radicals decided to meet violence with violence. Their secret organization was popularly known as the Nihilist society. They deliberately resolved to sacrifice their own lives to the cause of liberty, and by assassination after assassination they sought to avenge the barbarous persecution of their friends and to terrify the Tsar into granting representative government. Alexander at last decided to grant part of their demands. He prepared a draft of a constitution which was to set up a National Assembly. But the day before this plan was to be announced the Nihilists dynamited him.

Reaction intensified under Alexander III and Nicholas II

Alexander III (1881-1894) returned to the reactionary policy of his grandfather Nicholas. What remained of Alexander II's reforms was undone — except that serfdom could not well be restored in law. The press was subjected to a sterner censorship. University teachers were muzzled, being forbidden to touch upon matters of government in their lectures. Books like Green's *English People* were added to the long list of standard works whose circulation was forbidden. The royal police were given despotic authority to interfere in the affairs of the mirs.

Religious persecution

All this reactionary policy was continued by the next — and the last — of the Tsars, the incompetent *Nicholas II* (1894-1917), and with it was coupled an increase in the despotic attempt to Russianize the border provinces. The Finnish and German Lutherans of the Baltic regions, the Polish Catholics, the Armenian dissenters, the Georgians, and the Jews were all cruelly persecuted. Children were taken from parents to be educated in the Greek faith; native languages were forbidden in schools, churches, newspapers, legal proceedings, or on sign boards; and against the Jews (who had already been cruelly crowded into "the Jewish Pale") bloody "pogroms" were organized by police officers with every form of outrage, plunder, torture, and massacre. (It was this persecution that drove

great numbers of Russian Jews to America.) And, in return for the Tsar's aid against heresy, the Russian priests became spies for the autocracy in its political persecution, and betrayed to the police the secrets of the confessional.

Russian
church aids
despotism

In one respect the Baltic districts had more cause for complaint even than the Jews. Finland, the old German provinces (Livonia, Esthonia, Courland), and Poland all excelled Russia proper in civilization, and *each of them, at its acquisition by Russia, had been solemnly promised the perpetual enjoyment of its own language, religion, and laws.* Russianization may sometimes have been a not unmixed evil to barbarous regions on the east; but it was bitterly hard upon these progressive western districts.

Russianiza-
tion of the
Baltic region

By 1890, the police seemed to have crushed all reform agitation and all *open* criticism of the government. But there was an "Underground Russia" where modern ideas were working silently. Many liberals were growing up among the increasing class of lawyers, physicians, professors, and merchants, and, sometimes, among the nobles.

Under-
ground
Russia

More important still was the fact that, about 1890, even Russia began to be touched by the industrial revolution. Moscow had been a "sacred city" of churches, marked by spires and minarets. In 1890, it was becoming an industrial center, with huge factories and furnaces, marked by smoke-hung chimneys.

The indus-
trial revo-
lution

In such cities Socialism made converts rapidly among the new working class. There were two distinct bodies of these Russian Socialists. The larger body looked forward only to peaceful reform, like the Social Democratic party in other lands. The other was made up of Social-Revolutionists. This was a secret society, perfectly organized, which had absorbed the old Nihilists. It held that violence was necessary and right in the struggle to free Russia from the despotism which choked all attempts at peaceful reform. In this day of perfectly disciplined standing armies, with modern guns, open revolution is doomed to almost certain extinction in blood. So the Revolutionists worked by the dagger and the dynamite

And Social-
ism

The liberal
movement
of 1906:
"the First
Russian
Revolution"

bomb, to slay the chief ministers of despotism. The society selected its intended victims with careful deliberation; and, when one had been killed, it posted placards proclaiming to the world the list of "crimes" for which he had been "executed." Spite of every precaution, the Revolutionists, with complete disregard of their own lives, managed to strike down minister after minister among the most hated of the Tsar's tools.

The opportunity of the reform forces seemed to have come in 1905. The failure of Russia in the Japanese war showed that the despotic government had been both inefficient and corrupt. High officials had stolen money which should have gone for rifles and powder and food and clothing for the armies. During the disasters of the war itself, other officials stole the Red Cross funds intended to relieve the suffering of the wounded. The intelligent classes were exasperated by these shames and by the humiliating defeat of their country, and began to make their murmurs heard. The peasantry were woefully oppressed by war-taxes. The labor classes in the towns were thrown out of employment in the general stagnation of business. The agitation for reform among all these elements became turbulent; and in March, after failing to stifle it in blood, in the massacre of Red Sunday, the Tsar promised a Duma (representative assembly).

Class
divisions
among the
liberals

As after the Emancipation Edict forty-five years before, the Russian people went wild with joy and hope; and again bitter disappointment followed. All Russia had seemed united against autocracy in demands for *political* reform; but now it proved to be divided within itself by a bitter class conflict. The city proletariat was struggling for radical economic change as well as for political reform; especially for shorter hours and higher wages, for which many strikes were then in progress. The middle-class liberals (including most employers of labor) hoped that representative government — with only the grant of more land to the peasants — would remedy Russia's ills. Immediately after issuing the October decree for the Duma, the Tsar threw himself once more into the arms of the reactionary official party, and sought to take advantage of this class

division among the liberals. The prisons were emptied of criminals, who were then organized by the police as "patriots"—better known in history as the Black Hundreds; and within three weeks, in a hundred different places, some 4000 radicals and labor leaders were assassinated.

Reaction at
court

This brutal violence gave increased standing among the people to the radical Socialist movement. In all great cities there had been organized a Council of Workmen's Deputies to guide the strikes. These Councils now began to be mighty political forces. The peasants, too, organized Councils of Deputies in many districts, and, in some places, revolutionarily inclined regiments made common cause with peasants and workingmen, and elected Councils of Soldiers' Deputies. This was the birth of the famous *soviets* — a desperate attempt to meet the Tsar's duplicity and brutality by a new working-class government.

The origin
of soviets

But these soviet organizations at once began to antagonize the liberal capitalists by ill-timed demands as to hours and wages, enforced by general strikes. *Accordingly the middle classes held aloof*, while the Tsar's government used all its remaining strength in the early winter to crush the new soviets with an indescribably horrible vengeance.

Crushed for
the time by
the Tsar

In April of 1906, midst gloom and anarchy, with 75,000 of Russia's finest men and women suffering torment in dungeons as political prisoners, and with a cruel famine desolating many provinces, the Duma was at last brought together—the first representative assembly of the Russian nation. The Tsar had arranged the elections so as to leave most weight in the hands of the wealthy and noble classes, and the police interfered actively against radical candidates; but the revolutionary movement had swept everything before it. The largest party among the members were middle-class liberals, who called themselves *Constitutional Democrats*. The chief leader of this group was Miliukof, and it contained many other men of wise and moderate statesmanship. Next in numbers came the *Peasants*, with a program of moderate Socialism. The extreme Socialists of the towns (*Social Democrats*), had in great measure refused to take part in the elections. Still they counted 25 members.

The Duma
of 1906

Of the total of 400, only 28 were avowed supporters of autocracy. The Tsar's repudiation by the nation was complete.

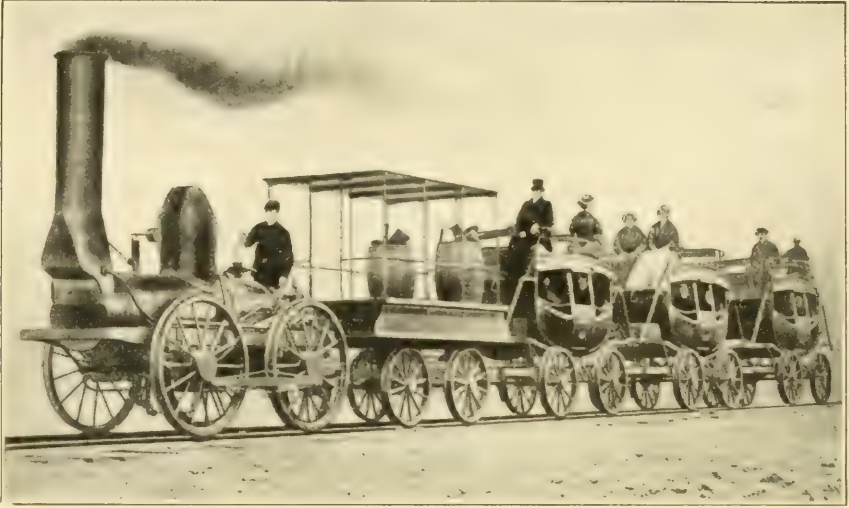
Anarchy and
violence

The Duma, after vainly seeking a "responsible" ministry and the abolition of martial law, wisely concentrated its efforts upon securing the state lands for the suffering peasants. The Tsar, now in the hands of intensely reactionary advisers, was "sadly disappointed" that the Duma insisted on meddling in such matters, and (July 21) he dissolved it. Months of anarchy followed. The government fell back upon stern repression and intimidation, *to suppress not only disorder, but also political agitation*. More than a thousand political offenders were executed, and fifty thousand were sent to Siberia or to prison, while the Revolutionists counted up 24,239 others slain by the soldiery in putting down or punishing riots. Prisoners were tortured mercilessly, and in many cases were flogged to death.

The Duma
of 1907

A second Duma met March 5, 1907. The surviving liberal members of the former assembly had been made ineligible for election. But this time the Social Democrats went into the campaign in earnest and elected nearly one third the members, in spite of desperate efforts of the police to close their meetings and imprison their leaders. With the remnants of the Constitutional Democrats and the Peasants, there was once more a large majority opposed to the government. In June the Tsar demanded that some sixty Socialist members should be expelled as "traitors"; and when the Duma appointed a committee to investigate, he dissolved it. Then by arbitrary decree he changed the method of electing Dumas so as to put control into the hands of the great landlords. A third and a fourth Duma (1907, 1912), chosen upon this basis, proved properly submissive. The revolution, men said, had been stifled.

PLATE XCVII



ABOVE. — THE "DE WITT CLINTON," the first steam railroad train in America. The first trip (from Albany to Schenectady) was made August 9, 1831, with a *maximum* speed of 15 miles an hour. Note the resemblance of the "coaches" to horse vehicles.

BELOW. — A MODERN ELECTRIC LOCOMOTIVE on the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Road. Forty-two such engines are in use to haul passengers and freight over the great Continental Divide. This engine weighs 282 tons, has an electrification of 3000 volts, and can haul six and a half million pounds of freight up a stiff grade at 16 miles an hour, or, geared for high speed, can pull a passenger train, like the one here pictured, at a mile a minute on ordinary levels.

PART XV — THE WORLD IN 1914

CHAPTER LXI

SCIENCE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

In spite of certain remaining dark spots on the globe, like Russia, it was usual in 1900, to speak of the preceding hundred years as "the wonderful century." It is true that no thousand years before had seen so much progress. Theodore Roosevelt's day was farther removed from Napoleon's than his from Charlemagne's. And in this mighty transformation the chief agents had been *scientific invention* and *humane sentiment*.

PROGRESS IN SCIENCE

Very wonderful was the scientific advance. The close of the eighteenth century saw those inventions in England that created the age of iron and substituted steam and machinery for hand power in production, so creating the "Industrial Revolution" (pp. 465 ff.). Toward the middle of the next century came a second burst of scientific invention, in which America led, again revolutionizing daily life and in particular applying machinery to *farm* production. Then, towards the close of that same century came the third group of inventions, replacing the age of steam *by the age of electricity*, transforming once more the face of the world and the daily habits of vast populations. Gasoline engines and electric engines furnished new power for locomotion, for factory, and for field. Man explored the sea bottom in submarines and conquered the air. The electric street railway, the automobile, and auto trucks made for cleaner city streets, better country roads, and a vast saving of time and labor. Electric lights helped to

banish crime along with darkness. Telephone, phonograph, wireless telegraphy gave men new power to do and to enjoy. And along with this went such a transformation of all earlier machinery and processes as made those of 1850 quaint curiosities.

More important than these inventions that affect our bodies and our outer life have been the change in *ideas* about the



FORGING A RAILWAY CAR AXLE TO-DAY, at the Howard Axle Works, Homestead, Pa. The drop-hammer, about to strike the white-hot axle, weighs three and one half tons. Fourteen such hammers are used in these works.

world and man's relation to it, — a change due also to the new science.

A new geology

In 1833 *Sir Charles Lyell* published his *Principles of Geology*. Men had believed that the earth was essentially the globe as it came from the hand of God, five or six thousand years before, modified perhaps in places by tremendous convulsions or floods. Lyell explained mountains, plains, valleys, the rock strata, and other geologic features, as the results of the slow action of water, frost, snow, and other forces which we see still

at work about us. This uniformitarian theory (supported by the discovery of fossils in the rocks) quickly induced men to reckon the age of the earth by aeons of time; and soon the discovery of human remains in old geologic strata compelled a new conception of the length of man's life upon the earth.

In the study of the animal world a like change was taking place. Here and there some thinker had hinted that the plants and animals we see about us must have all "evolved" by slow changes from one or at least from a few elementary types. In 1859 *Charles Darwin* gave this theory of evolution a definite form (so that it is commonly associated with his name), and showed one of the forces that has brought it about, in his *Origin of Species by Natural Selection*. Revolutionary as this idea was at first, it has become almost universally accepted among educated people, although other factors have been added to the "survival of the fittest"—the cause upon which Darwin laid almost sole stress.

Evolution

Hardly less important was the discovery (about 1840) that each animal or vegetable organism is made up of minute cells of protoplasm (a living substance of a character resembling gelatine). These cells in each living thing, it was discovered, come from one original parent cell, and develop in different ways according to the nature of the organ they are to form (hair, skin, muscular tissue, etc.). This cell theory made possible a new scientific study of animal life—which is called biology.

The cellular composition of organic matter

And biology has produced a new science of medicine. In the 80's the French biologist, Pasteur, broke the way, proving the germ theory of disease, and inventing methods of inoculation against some of the most dreaded forms, like hydrophobia. Devoted disciples followed in his footsteps. During the American occupation of Cuba after the Spanish-American war, Major Walter Reed showed that ordinary malaria and the deadly yellow fever alike were spread by the bite of mosquitoes. In like manner it has been proved that certain fleas, carried by rats, spread the bubonic plague. In 1903 Dr. Charles W. Stiles proved that the inefficiency and low vitality of the "poor Whites" in the southern United States were due to the parasitic

Progress in medicine

hookworm. The special causes of typhoid and tuberculosis have become well known; and as this passage is being written, the germ that causes the dreaded infantile paralysis has been discovered. Each such discovery has enabled men to fight disease more successfully. It is not improbable that in the not distant future all deadly contagious diseases may be practically banished from the earth, — as, according to medical journals, yellow fever is just now banished. Between 1850 and 1900 the average human life in civilized lands was lengthened by a fourth, and population was trebled.

SOCIAL UPLIFT

A new
human
solidarity

This larger and better life of the early twentieth century, too, was bound together, for good and for ill, in a new human solidarity. Our big world is more compact than the small world of 1800 was. Ox-cart and pack-horse have been replaced as carriers by long lines of cars moving thousands of tons of all kinds of freight swiftly across continents. For bulkier commerce the most distant "East" and "West" have been brought near together by the Suez Canal (opened in 1869) and the Panama Canal (built by the United States and opened in 1914);¹ while now the more precious articles and mails begin to be moved as by magic in airships, as Tennyson dreamed when in his youth he—

"Saw the heavens fill with commerce — argosies of magic sails,

Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales."

New methods of banking make it possible to transfer credit in an instant, by wire or wireless, between the most distant portions of the earth; and lines of communication are so organized that it costs no more to send a letter or parcel around the earth than around the nearest street corner. The Minnesota farmer's market is not Minneapolis, but the world. The Australian sheep-raiser, the Kansas farmer, the South African miner, the New York merchant, the London banker, are parts of one industrial organism.

All this solidarity means *one more revolution in industry*. The age of small individual enterprise has given way to an era of

¹ Special reports upon this building and on present use of these routes.

PLATE XCVIII



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TWO VIEWS OF THE PANAMA CANAL.

ABOVE. — The Miraflores Locks, with the S.S. *Santa Clara* leaving the upper west chamber under tow of an electric motor, not in sight in the picture.

BELOW. — The first boat through after navigation had been temporarily blocked (in 1916) by "the big slide" from Culebra Hill (shown on the left). The steamer is the *St. Veronica* of Liverpool.

vast consolidation of capital and management — department stores, mighty corporations, huge trusts, flouring centers like Minneapolis, meat-packing centers like Chicago, money centers like Wall Street. And this consolidation has brought incalculable saving of wealth in economy of management and in utilization of old wastes into by-products.

The new unity of society, too, has its *moral* side. Any happening of consequence is known within the hour in London, Petrograd, Peking, New York, San Francisco, and, within a day, in almost every hamlet where civilized men live. A world opinion shapes itself, in ordinary times, as promptly as village opinion could be brought to bear upon an individual citizen a century ago.

But even before the horrible catastrophe of the World War, it was plain enough that *all this modern progress had a darker side*. True, there was more life, and better life; and there was more wealth to support life. The workers, too, though they got too little of that wealth, got vastly more than in 1800. An industrious, healthy artisan of to-day usually has a more enjoyable life than a great noble a century ago. Still the industrial organization which produced wealth with gratifying rapidity failed to distribute it *equitably*. The world had become rich; but multitudes of workers remained ominously poor. And this modern poverty is harder to bear than that of earlier times because it is less necessary. Then there was little wealth to divide. Now the poor man is jostled by ostentatious affluence and vicious waste.

Throughout the civilized world earnest men and women, as never before in history, had begun to band themselves into many kinds of "social uplift" organizations to relieve or remove this misery. Until toward the close of the nineteenth century such movements were mainly charitable in their character. Then they began to work, not merely to treat the social disease, but to remove its cause. They ceased to call for charity, and began to work for social justice — for some improved organization of industry that should secure to the worker a larger share of the product of his labor and so insure him against the need of

A dark side

Failure as yet to distribute wealth

The demand for "social justice"

charity. Enlightened thinkers and statesmen entered upon a new and more promising "war against poverty," recognizing also that such a course was necessary, not merely for the welfare of the poor, but also for the salvation of all society.

CHAPTER LXII

WORLD POLITICS TO 1914

I. ENCROACHMENTS UPON AFRICA AND ASIA

Modern civilization is based upon "industrialism." The greater the industrial development of a country, the more employment and better pay for its workingmen, and the more profit for its capitalists. Now the life blood of industrialism is trade: trade not merely with civilized nations, but (sometimes much more) with tropical and subtropical countries for oil, rubber, ivory, minerals, and other raw materials needed by factories in civilized lands. Moreover, thanks to modern factory processes, every industrial country (which can get adequate supplies of raw materials) has a much greater factory *output* than its own people can buy. The factories cannot keep running full speed without *outside* markets in which to sell. In the industrial states, too (before the World War), wealth accumulated faster, at times, than it could be invested profitably, — so that capitalists were anxious for outside investments, especially in countries with naturally rich but as yet undeveloped resources.

Trade essential to modern civilization

Add to these facts a fourth fact, — that in most of the rich tropical and subtropical regions there have been (until lately) no strong states to protect the inhabitants against outside encroachments — and we have the main explanations of the rivalries among the great civilized nations for colonial empire. Each seeks the largest possible part of the world's raw materials for its factories to work up into finished products, the largest markets for those products (all the better if a sole, or exclusive, market), and the best "concessions" from semi-barbarous states to its capitalists for exclusive rights to build railroads or develop mines.

Causes of "imperial" policies

**Imperialism
and war**

This "imperialism" (or desire for empire for the sake of trade) has been the underlying cause of most modern wars.¹ And yet, under existing conditions, it is useless to blame any one nation for trying to grab the oil of Mesopotamia, the coal of China, the ivory of the Congo, or the rubber of Mexico. The blame lies in the amazing fact that the nations have not made more serious attempts to change the system of commercial cannibalism. Rightly seen, the vast raw wealth of the globe belongs to no one or two arbitrary political divisions of the globe's population: it is the heritage of the whole world, present and *to come*. When we grow civilized enough, there will be some world-organization to conserve these resources and to see that all nations may share on some basis of equal opportunity or of need. True, this is much to expect while each nation still permits grasping individuals to engross within its own borders that natural wealth that should belong to all its people. But, if the task is great, so is the need. It must be solved, if civilization is to survive. Until there is such a world organization, annihilating world-war will not cease to threaten. The real work of a League of Nations will be not so much to "enforce peace," to *forbid war*, as to remove the chief excuse for war by doing justice among the peoples.

**In the eight-
eenth cen-
tury**

In the eighteenth century, trade rivalry became world-wide war. From 1689 to 1783, France and England wrestled incessantly for world empire, grappling on every continent and every sea; while, as allies of this one or of that, the other powers grasped at crumbs of European booty. The close saw France almost stripped of her old dependencies; and, a little later, when she seemed helpless in her Revolution, England sought to complete the victory. Then for a while Napoleon seemed likely to regain the Mississippi valley and India; but Waterloo left England "the mightiest nation upon earth," for some seventy years without an aggressive rival for world dominion. During that period, other European nations got along somehow because trade had not yet become the supremely vital thing it was soon to be. But steam and electricity were swiftly drawing the globe's most distant provinces into intimate unity, and, with the spread of the Industrial Revolution (p. 561), world trade was taking on a new importance. Accordingly, after 1871, the new industrial French Republic began to seek ex-

**In the nine-
teenth cen-
tury**

¹ For ancient war also, cf. pp. 35, 124, 174, and elsewhere.



pansion in north Africa and southeastern Asia; and in 1884, at the Congress of Berlin, the new industrial German Empire gave notice that thenceforth it meant to share in the plunder. The next quarter-century saw a mad scramble between Germany, France, and the already partially sated England for the world's remaining rich provinces defended only by "inferior" races. European politics were suddenly merged in world politics. The possession of petty counties on the Rhine or the Danube ceased to interest peoples who had fixed their eyes on vast continents.

Australia was already English. North America was held by the United States or England. South and Central America were protected beneath the shield of the Monroe Doctrine. *Africa*, however, was largely unappropriated, and now its seizure was swift. In 1880 only a few patches here and there on the coast were European; in 1891 (except for Liberia and Abyssinia) the continent was mapped out between European claimants (map opposite) — mainly between England, France, and Germany, though Belgium held the "Congo Free State," a rich territory of 1,000,000 square miles in the heart of the continent with 30,000,000 native inhabitants. (It must be understood, however, that, except for English South Africa, and part of French Algeria, European *settlement* has not entered the continent to any considerable degree, nor have the natives been Europeanized.)

New world-
problems

Partition of
Africa

By 1890, also, the partition of Asia was well under way — though in this continent too, except for a few trading stations, there has been no real European "colonization." Central and northern Asia had become Russian; the vast, densely populated peninsula of India (with adjoining Burma) was English; the southeastern peninsula was mainly French. Of the five remaining native states, Afghanistan, Persia, and Siam were merely weak and helpless survivals permitted to exist by cautious European diplomacy as "buffer states," separating England from Russia on one side and from France on the other; and, before the century closed, the Turkish Empire (p. 623) and even the ancient Chinese Empire had begun to go to pieces.

Europe in
Asia

Here we must note that in the closing years of the nineteenth

**The United
States a
World
Power**

century two new actors appeared to dispute world empire with the old claimants. A war between Japan and China (p. 605) revealed despised Japan as a great modernized World Power that must henceforth be reckoned with, especially in Asiatic questions; and the Spanish-American War of 1898 brought the United States to the door of Asia. The United States had been sufficiently occupied for a hundred years in appropriating and developing her own vast territory from ocean to ocean, and had resolutely kept herself free from European complications; but now, her great task accomplished, she had already begun to reach out for the islands of the sea and for Asiatic trade. Then during the war with Spain, she annexed Hawaii and at the close she retained the Philippines.

II. JAPAN

**Land and
people**

Japan proper consists of a crescent-shaped group of islands with an area a fourth larger than the entire British Isles. Population is only slightly larger than the British, but it increases rapidly and it is already much more "crowded," because only a small part of the land is tillable (much of that only with immense toil, in terraces of built-up soil on steep mountain sides), and because factory industry, though now growing rapidly, is still far less developed than in America or Europe. Accordingly, labor is very cheap, and the standard of living is low. In spite of this, the short, brown people have remarkably vigorous and well-developed bodies and strong, alert intellects. Their manners are marked by Oriental courtesy (which our ruder Western world sometimes looks upon as extravagant if not deceitful), and naturally many of their customs are strange and even shocking to Europeans and Americans.

**Western-
ization**

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, Japan kept herself sealed against the outside world. For two centuries, even to trade with foreigners had been punishable with death. The Mikado (emperor) was absolute and was worshiped as a god; and a small class of feudal nobles, backed by numerous hereditary military retainers (*samurai*) kept the common people in a bondage not unlike that in ancient Egypt. But in 1853 Commodore

PLATE XCIX



HASEDERA TEMPLE, PROVINCE OF GAMATO, JAPAN. — Number eight of the thirty-three places sacred to Kwannon, the goddess of mercy, who, according to Japanese belief, divided herself into parts in order to minister to as many as possible, in accordance with their particular need.

Perry, under orders from the United States government, by a show of force secured the opening of Japanese ports to American trade.

Humiliated by this demonstration of the superior strength of Western civilization, the intelligent Japanese swiftly adopted many of its features. Before the close of the century, army, navy, schools, and industry were made over on Western models. Even sooner, feudalism and serfdom were abolished; and in 1889 a liberal Mikado proclaimed a constitution which created a parliament and ministry at least as powerful as that then existing in the German Empire. In recent years the ministry *tends* more and more to become truly "responsible"; and a progressive labor movement is likely to become a factor in politics. At the same time, it remains true that, since the fall of German and Russian autocracy in the World War, Japan is nearer a military despotism than is any other great power.

Soon after Japan had become Westernized, she began to look eagerly for colonial acquisitions — partly as an outlet for her overcrowded population; and in 1894 her attempts to secure new privileges in the neighboring kingdom of Korea (a dependency of China) brought on war with the huge Chinese Empire. The Chinese fought with their usual fanatic bravery; but their arms and organization were Oriental, and little Japan won swift victory on land and sea. China agreed to cede not only Korea with the neighboring Port Arthur, but also the island of Formosa. But Japan in Korea would have forever blocked the natural Russian ambition for an ice-free Pacific port, and now the Russian Tsar, backed by France, insisted that Japan should renounce Korea and Port Arthur (which meant virtually that China should turn these districts over to Russia instead of to Japan).

Japan was unprepared for war with European powers, and was wise enough to yield for the time; but she began at once to make ready patiently and skillfully for a struggle with Russia — which came ten years later (p. 609). Meantime the European powers felt at least obliged to recognize Japan more nearly as an equal. A series of new treaties removed various restrictions

Revealed a
World
Power :
Chinese
War of
1894-1895

Russian
rivalry

Anglo-Japanese pact
of 1902

which had interfered with Japanese control of her own trade, and also abolished the European courts which had been set up within her territory to try cases in which Europeans were interested. Then in 1902 Japanese diplomacy secured a twenty-year defensive treaty with England, in which each party agreed to aid the other in war if it were engaged with more than one power. (This meant that when the war with Russia should come, Japan would have only Russia to deal with.)

III. CHINA

Land and
people

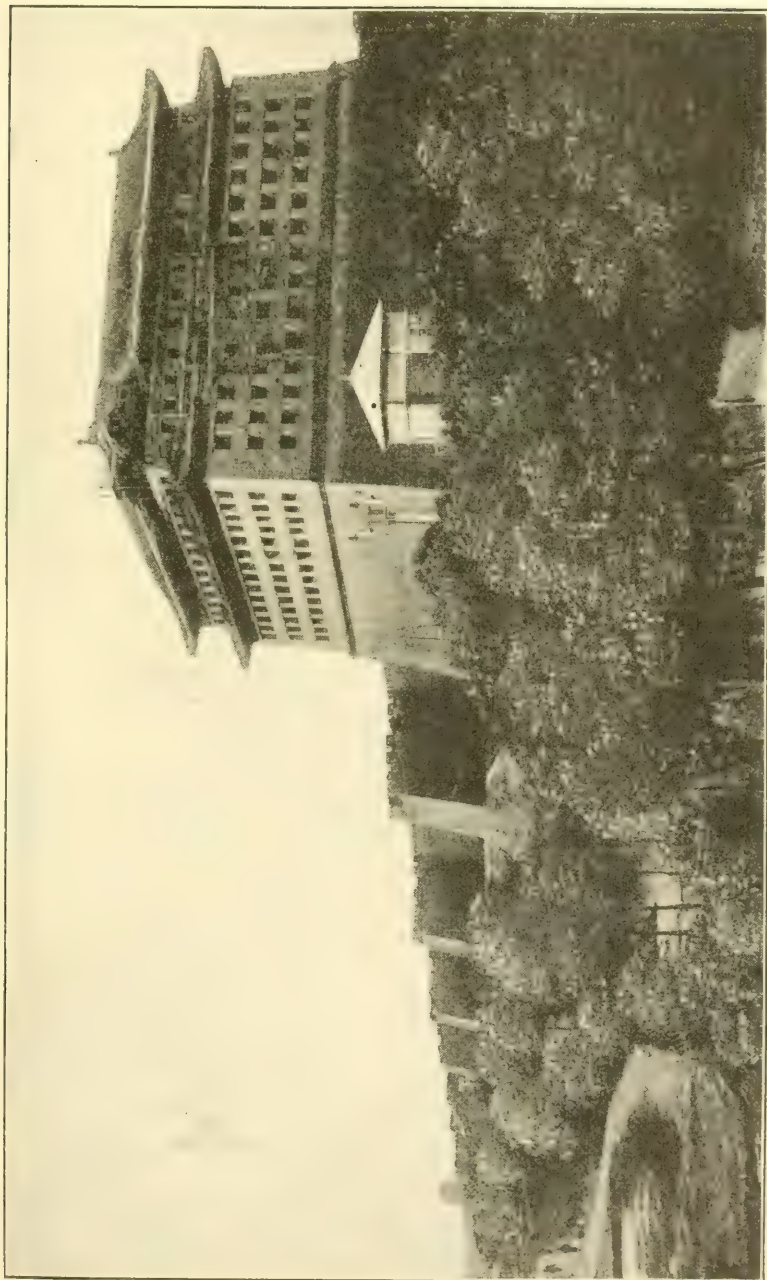
Including its many outlying and loosely dependent districts (like Thibet and Mongolia) China has an area and a population about equal to those of Europe; but China proper, containing half the area and three fourths the population, consists of eighteen provinces in the basins of the Hwangho and Yangtse river systems. Here, near the coast especially, population is densely crowded, considering the backward nature of industry. Most of the soil of China proper is fertile; but, in the absence of suitable means of transportation and communication, agricultural produce away from the coast has little value. The mineral deposits (including coal and oil) are probably the richest in the world; but, except for recent "concessions" to Europeans, they are almost untouched.

Even in China proper, the people belong to many distinct tribes with quite different dialects and with little in common except their patriotic pride in their common Chinese civilization and their contempt for all outside "barbarians." The Chinese civilization was old before that of Rome began. Printing, gunpowder, paper, delicate work in silks and in "chinaware," the mariner's compass, were all known in China for centuries before they appeared in Europe. The individual Chinamen, too, are industrious and energetic. *But for the past 2000 years, Chinese culture has made no advance.*

Stagnant
civilization

Three causes help to explain this stationary or stagnant character of Chinese civilization. (1) The very complex system of picture writing, employing thousands of symbols instead of only twenty-six, imprisons the mind of the educated class. This

PLATE C



THE WALL OF PEKING. CHINA. — The wall is thirty miles in circumference. That part which surrounds the Manchu or Tartar city is fifty feet high, sixty feet through at the base, and forty at the top. The part surrounding the Chinese city is thirty feet high, twenty-five through at the base, and fifteen at the top. Each of the sixteen gates is surmounted by a high tower with numerous port holes.

is the more serious because the educated class of mandarins is also the ruling and the official class. There is no hereditary nobility in China; the mandarin class is open to any youth who acquires the necessary ability to read and to pass a satisfactory examination in certain sacred books. But the strenuous attention which all mandarin youth must give for so many formative years to the mere *forms of words*, and then to *memorizing* books of maxims, works against interest in new ideas.

(2) Perhaps as a result of this, Confucius, the moral teacher of China, who about 500 B.C. compiled and arranged these sacred volumes, makes reverence for ancestors and for precedent fundamental virtues. To men so trained, innovation becomes a sin.

(3) Moreover, China for thousands of years was effectively shut off from all other civilized countries by almost impassable deserts and mountains, so that she received no new ideas from without.

In the seventeenth century the Mongol Tartar rule over China (p. 395) was succeeded by the rule of the *Manchus* (a conquering tribe from north-central Asia). An early monarch of this line compelled every Chinaman to wear his hair in a queue as a sign of subjection. This line of emperors continued absolute — *in form* — down to our own time; but very soon after the conquest the real management of the empire reverted to the mandarin class.

After the voyage of Da Gama round the Cape of Good Hope, European traders began to try for admission into Cathay (China) to secure its tea and silk in exchange for Western goods. The Chinese government, however, for three centuries permitted these foreigners to deal only in the one port of Canton — where Portuguese, Dutch, and English established posts. The English found the greatest profits in bringing in opium from India. The Chinese government saw that this drug was ruining thousands of its people, and, very properly, in 1839 it tried to stop that trade altogether. The English government then entered upon the "Opium War," and it was supported (it is instructive

European
trade

The Opium
War

to note) by English public opinion, which ignorantly supposed that England at most was merely breaking through barbarous trade restrictions — as the United States was soon to do in Japan (p. 605).

England of course was speedily victorious, and the treaty of peace forced China to cede the island of Hongkong (which is still British) and to open to foreign commerce a number of important ports. The helpless Empire was soon compelled also to admit Christian missionaries and to permit foreigners to travel through its realms.

Disinte-
gration

Next came the actual seizure of whole outlying provinces — Burma by England, much of Indo-China by France, and the valley of the Amur by Russia. After the Jap-Chinese War of 1894-5, too, Russia, in return for her “protection,” induced China to “lease” her Port Arthur for a hundred years (!) and to grant her railway rights across Manchuria (with the admission of Russian soldiers to guard the railway).

Then followed quickly seizures of territory in China proper. How Germany entered the Shantung peninsula has been told (p. 568). That act stimulated England to “induce” China (by the appearance of a fleet of warships) to “lease” to her the port of Waihaiwai — just between Port Arthur and the new German port Kiaochow. France secured Kwangchow-wan toward the south. The final partition of the ancient Empire seemed under way.

The Boxer
rising

But the peril called forth a violent outburst of patriotism. The mass of the people resented bitterly the interference of “foreign devils” in their affairs, and a secret society (the Boxers), pledged to rid China of foreigners, swept the country. In 1900 came a widespread Boxer rising. Many missionaries and travelers were massacred; the German minister was slain; and the other European embassies in Peking were besieged.

The siege was soon raised, and the Boxer rising crushed with savage retaliation, by a relief expedition in which Russia, Japan, the United States, England, France, and Germany joined. It seemed probable that the European powers would now seize large “indemnities” in territory, and perhaps break China in

fragments. Largely through the insistence of the United States, the indemnities were finally taken instead in money.

Even before the Boxer rising the American Secretary of State, John Hay, had urged upon the powers the policy of preserving Chinese territorial integrity, in return for an "open door" policy by that country, suggesting also that each of the powers should apply that policy in those "spheres of influence" it had already acquired. This "open door" program, forcefully supported by America and England — and by all the small commercial countries — had much to do now with preventing the complete dismemberment of China. Of course the main incentive of American policy was the wish to keep rich Oriental provinces open to American trade. But this policy — perfectly proper in itself — fell in happily with the interests of humanity. (The main hostility to the American policy, in ways both open and secret, came from Kaiser William of Germany — so that in a moment of extreme irritation, Hay once exclaimed: "I had almost rather be the dupe of China than the chum of the Kaiser.")

America's
"Open
Door"
policy

During the Boxer rising however, Russia had occupied Manchuria. She claimed that such action was necessary to protect her railroad there, and promised to withdraw at the return of peace. In 1902 this pledge was solemnly repeated; but, before 1904, it was clear that such promises had been made only to be broken, and that Russia was determined not to loosen her grasp upon the coveted province. Moreover, she began to encroach upon Korea. To Japan this Russian approach seemed to imperil not only her commercial prosperity (in Korea), but her independence as a nation. After months of futile negotiation, *Japan resorted to war.*

The Russo-
Jap War,
1904

To most of the world, Japan's chances looked pitifully small. Russian advance in Asia seemed irresistible, and the small island state appeared doomed to defeat. But Russia fought at long range. She had to transport troops and supplies across Asia by a *single-track* railroad. Her railway service was of a low order (like all her forms of engineering), and her rolling stock was inferior and insufficient. To be sure, it was

supposed that immense supplies had already been accumulated at Port Arthur and in Manchuria, in expectation of war; but it proved that high officials of the autocracy had made way with the larger part of the money designed to secure such equipment. Inefficiency, corruption, lack of organization, were matched only by boastful overconfidence.

Japan, on the other hand, had the most perfectly organized army, hospital service, and commissariat the world had ever seen. Her leaders were patriotic, honest, faithful, and always equal to the occasion; and the whole nation was animated by a spirit of ardent self-sacrifice. By her admirable organization, Japan was able, at all critical moments, to confront the Russians with equal or superior numbers, even after a year of war, when she had rolled back the battle line several hundred miles toward the Russian base.

At the outset, Japan could hope for success only by securing naval control of Asiatic waters. Russia had gathered at Port Arthur a fleet supposedly much stronger than Japan's whole navy; but (*February 8, 1904*) Japan struck the first blow, torpedoing several mighty battleships and cruisers. The rest of the Russian fleet was blockaded in the harbor; and, to the end of the war, Japan transported troops and supplies by water almost without interference.

Yalu, Port
Arthur, and
Mukden

Korea was swiftly overrun. The Russians were driven back from the *Yalu* in a great battle, and again defeated at *Liaou Yang*; and after a seven months' siege, marked by terrible suffering and reckless sacrifice on both sides, the Japanese captured the "invulnerable" *Port Arthur* (*January, 1905*). The severe northern winter interrupted the campaign; but in March, 1905, the Japanese resumed their advance. The *Battle of Mukden* was the most tremendous military struggle the world had seen. It lasted fifteen days. The battle front extended a hundred miles, and a million men were engaged, with all the terrible, destructive agencies of modern science at their command. The Russians were completely routed, and driven back on Harbin.

Togo's naval
victory

Russia's only chance was to regain command of the sea. During the winter of 1905, after a year of delays, a huge fleet,









far exceeding the Japanese navy in number and in size, but poorly equipped and miserably officered, had set out on the long voyage from the Baltic. By a breach of neutrality on the part of France, it was allowed to rest and refit at Madagascar, and again at the French stations near Southern China; and in May it reached the Sea of Japan. There it was annihilated by the splendidly handled Japanese fleet, under Admiral Togo, in the greatest of the world's naval battles.

Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, now "offered his good offices" to secure peace; and a meeting of envoys was arranged (August, 1905, at Portsmouth, N. H.), at which the *Treaty of Portsmouth* was signed. Japan's demands were exceedingly moderate, and she yielded even a part of these at President Roosevelt's urgent appeal for peace. Russia agreed (1) to withdraw from Chinese Manchuria, (2) to cede the Port Arthur branch of her railroad to China, (3) to recognize a Japanese protectorate in Korea, and (4) to cede to Japan the southern half of Sakhalin, — an island formerly belonging to Japan but occupied by Russia in 1875.

**Treaty of
Portsmouth**

The most important results of the war were indirect results. Russia was checked in her career of aggression in Europe and toward India, as well as in the Far East, and the collapse of her despotic government gave opportunity for the beginning of a great revolution in society and politics (p. 592). Her defeat was a blessing to her own people. On the other hand, victory intensified imperialistic and militaristic tendencies in Japan, and her cruel rule in Korea soon alienated much of the sympathy her gallantry had won in America and England.

One other change, vast and beneficent, is at least closely connected with the war. China had recently begun to follow Japan's example in sending part of her youth abroad to complete their education, especially to America; and Western ideas had begun to spread among the mandarin class. The national humiliation in the war with Japan in 1894 and in the Boxer War, and now the marvelous victory of Westernized Japan over Russia, reinforced the advocates of Western civilization for

**The Chi-
nese
Revolution**

China. In 1909 the regent (Empress Dowager, whose Emperor-son was still a babe) promised a constitution "in the near future." The agitation of the Liberals then forced her to fix the date for 1913. But this was not soon enough. In 1911 Central China rose in revolution, to make the many provinces of the empire into a federal republic.

The movement spread with marvelous rapidity, and in a few weeks the Republicans, in possession of the richest and most populous parts of the empire, set up a provisional republican government, at Nanking, under the presidency of an enlightened patriot, *Dr. Sun Yat Sen*. In an attempt to save the monarchy, the Empress then issued a constitution, and called to power a moderate reformer, *Yuan Shih Kai* (yoo-an she ki). When it quickly appeared that this was not enough, the Manchus abdicated. Yuan Shih Kai established a provisional republican government at Peking, and opened negotiations with the Nanking government. To remove all hindrance to union, Sun Yat Sen resigned. Then the two provisional governments elected Yuan Shih Kai president of the "Republic of China."

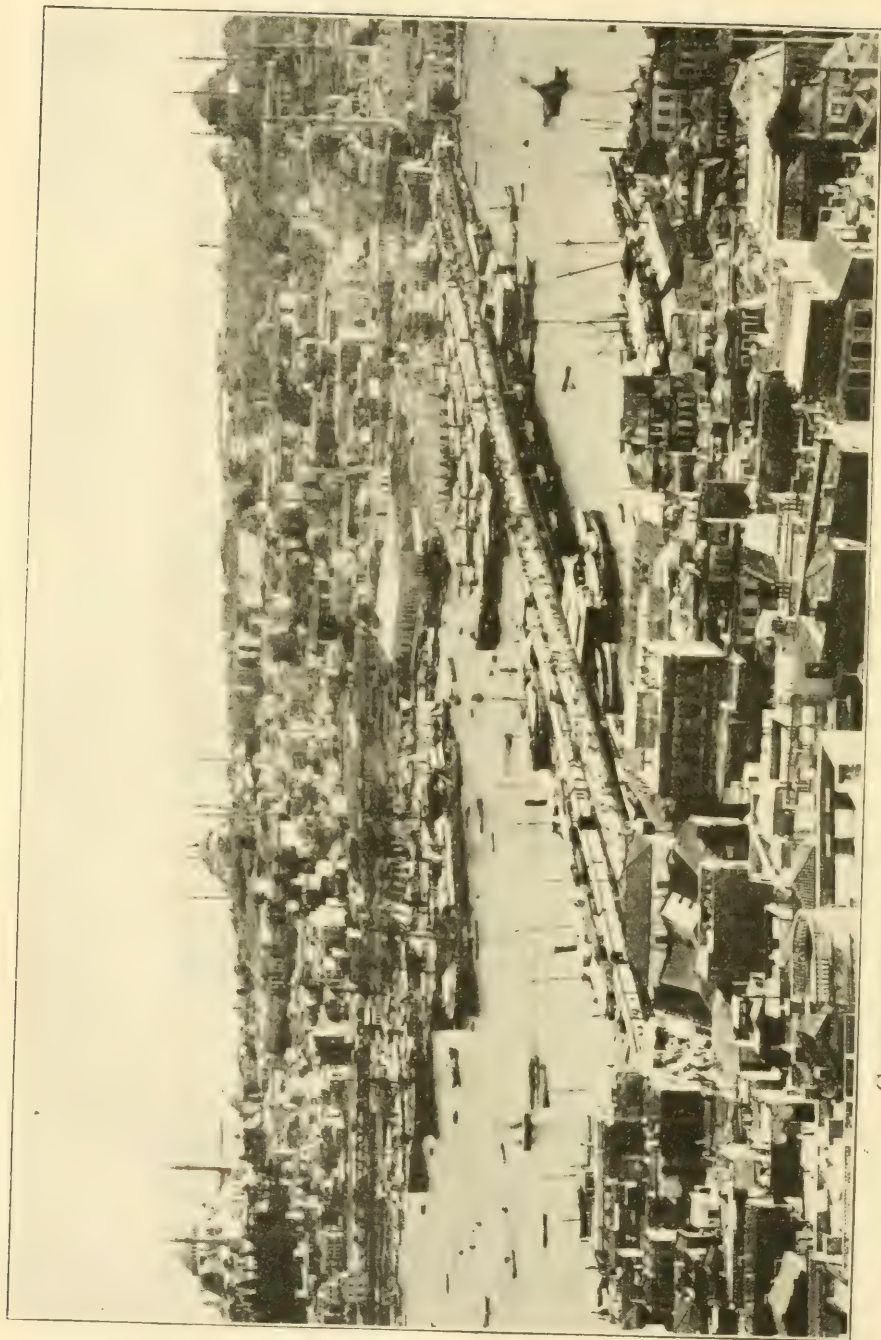
China a republic

In April, 1913, the first Chinese parliament assembled, representing four hundred million people. The new president, however, proved self-seeking and reactionary. Leading Liberals were assassinated, supposedly by his orders, and probably only his own death kept him from making himself emperor. The Peking government remains (1922) virtually a military dictatorship; but in the south a progressive republic was soon reconstructed under Dr. Sun.

A fourth of the population of the globe cannot be expected to lift itself into civilization and orderly freedom in a day. Progress in China, however, has gone much further than a mere change in external political forms. Western types of schools and of industry have been introduced over wide areas in the brief period, 1913-1922; and much advance has been made in freeing women from ancient servile customs — like that of binding the feet.

On the other hand, while the Western World was occupied

PLATE CI



CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE BOSPHORUS, — a view from an airplane.

in war in 1915, and while China was still too much distracted by revolution to offer effective resistance, Japan forced the Peking government to accept treaties embodying a now famous set of "twenty-one points," by which the aggressive island empire secured great control in the internal affairs of its huge neighbor.

IV. A SUMMARY OF DEMOCRATIC ADVANCE

The marvelous story of China's transformation makes this a good place to sum up the world's political advance down to the World War. As late as 1830, we have seen, England, Switzerland, and Norway were the only Old-World countries which were not absolute despotisms; and these countries were far from being the democracies they are now. During the remaining two thirds of the nineteenth century, constitutional government spread eastward from England through Europe, and west from the United States to Japan. In 1900 Russia and little Montenegro (with the possessions of Turkey) were the only European states still unaffected by the movement, along with Turkey, Persia, China, and Siam in Asia; and in 1913 Siam was the only sovereign state on this earth without a representative assembly and some degree of constitutional government. The story has been told for all countries except Persia and Turkey.

Growth of
constitu-
tionalism

In Persia the Shah was induced, by a peaceful but general middle-class demand, to grant a constitution in 1906. On his death (1907), the new monarch attempted to overthrow the liberal movement by force, but a general revolt deposed him and restored the constitution, seating a boy upon the throne under the guidance of liberal ministers. This government, however, was far too weak to withstand the encroachments of Russia and England upon the country; and Persia remained distracted by revolts.

In the Turkish Empire a "Young Turk" party established a parliament in 1908 by an almost bloodless revolution — since the army officers very largely joined the movement. It must be understood, however, that constitutionalism has as yet taken little hold upon the most of the people.

More significant, too, than the introduction of representative forms in Oriental lands was the swift extension of the suffrage

in the civilized countries — to full manhood suffrage and then to equal suffrage for all men and women. This topic has been treated in detail in the story of the several countries. (See index for reviews.)

V. MAKING "ALLIANCES" FOR PEACE

The new social solidarity had its peril as well as its promise. By 1910, Europe had fallen into two hostile camps, the *Triple Alliance* and the *Triple Entente*.

The Triple Alliance

1. After 1871 Bismarck sought to isolate France, so as to keep her from finding any ally in a possible "war of revenge." To this end he cultivated friendship especially with Russia and Austria. Austria he had beaten in war only a few years earlier (1866); but the ruling German element in Austria was quite ready now to find backing in the powerful and successful German Empire.

Bismarck prefers Austria to Russia

Soon, however, Bismarck found that he must choose between Austria and Russia. These two were bitter rivals for control in the Balkans. The Slav peoples there, recently freed from the Turks, looked naturally to Russia, who had won their freedom for them, as the "Big Brother" of all Slavs and all Greek religionists. But Austria, shut out now from control in Central Europe, was bent upon aggrandizement to the south. In particular her statesmen meant to win a strip of territory through to Saloniki, on the Aegean, so that, with a railroad thither, they might control the rich Aegean trade. Now Serbia, one of these Slav states, dreamed of a South Slav state reaching to the Adriatic, — which would interpose an inseparable Slav barrier across the path of Austria's ambition. Accordingly Austria sought always to keep Serbia weak and small; while Russia, hating Austria even more than she loved the Balkan Slavs, backed Serbia. (Map, p. 625.)

This rivalry between Austria and Russia became so acute by 1879 that there was always danger of war; and in that year Bismarck chose to side with Austria as the surer ally. Accordingly he formed a definite written alliance with Austria to the effect that Germany would help Austria in case she had a war

with Russia, and Austria would help Germany in case she were attacked by France and any other Power. Three years later, while Italy was bitterly enraged at the French seizure of Tunis (p. 555), Bismarck added Italy to his league, making it the Triple Alliance.

Italy drawn into Bismarck's league

2. Then Russia and France, each isolated in Europe, drew together for mutual protection into a “Dual Alliance” (1884). England long held aloof from both leagues. In the 'eighties and 'nineties, England and France were bitter rivals in Africa, and England and Russia, in Asia. But after Bismarck's fall, England began to see in the German emperor's colonial ambitions a more threatening rival than France; and Russia's defeat by Japan made Russia less dangerous. German militarism, too, was deeply hateful to English democracy. Moreover, England and France were daily coming to a better understanding, and in 1903 a sweeping arbitration treaty put any war between them almost out of question. Soon afterward, England and Russia succeeded in agreeing upon a line in Persia which should separate the “influence” of one power in that country from the “influence” of the other, so removing all immediate prospect of trouble between the two. From this time the Dual Alliance became the Triple Entente — England, France, and Russia. England was not bound by definite treaty to give either country aid in war; but it was plain that France and Russia were her friends.

The Dual Alliance of 1884

England's “splendid isolation”

The Triple Entente

Each of the two huge armed leagues always protested that its aim was peace, and for half a century after 1871 Europe did have no war, except the struggles in the half-savage Balkans. But this “peace” was based upon fear, and it was costly. Year by year, each alliance strove to make its armies and navies mightier than the other's. Huge and huger cannon were invented, only to be cast into the scrap heap for still huger ones. A dreadnought costing millions was scrapped in a few months by some costlier design. The burden upon the workers and the evil moral influences of such armaments were only less than the burden and evil of war (p. 563). In every land voices began to cry out that it was all needless: that the world was too Christian and too wise ever again to let itself be desolated by a

The alliances and peace

great war. And then came some interesting if not very zealous efforts to find new machinery by which to guard against war — in standing arbitration treaties, permanent international tribunals like the Hague Court, and occasional World Congresses.

VI. INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

The first
modern
"arbitra-
tion"

The first case of arbitration between nations in modern times was arranged by one clause¹ of the Jay Treaty of 1794 between England and the United States. For nearly a hundred years this sensible device continued to be used mainly by the two English-speaking nations; but before the close of the nineteenth century it began to spread rapidly to other lands. During that century several hundred disputes were settled honorably, peacefully, and justly by this process.

But in each of these cases a special treaty had to be negotiated before arbitration could begin — with every chance for war before such an arrangement could be made. Now the closing years of the nineteenth century saw agitation for "*general arbitration treaties*" by which nations might agree *in advance* to submit disputes to a certain court of arbitrators. In 1897 a treaty of this kind between England and the United States failed of adoption because of opposition in the United States Senate, though it had been recommended vigorously first by President Cleveland and afterward by President McKinley. Then leadership in this great movement passed for the time away from the English-speaking peoples.

The Hague
Congress of
1899

On August 24, 1898, by order of Tsar Nicholas (a sentimental lover of peace), the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs handed to the representatives of the different nations in St. Petersburg a written suggestion for a *world conference* to consider some means for arresting the danger of war and for lessening the burden of the armed peace. Out of this suggestion there grew the *Hague Peace Conference* of 1899. Twenty-six nations were represented, including Mexico, Siam, Japan, China, and Persia, — practically all the independent states of the world except

Germany
defeats pro-
posals for
disarming

¹ Regarding the disputed boundary between Maine and Nova Scotia, see West's *American History and Government*, § 232, or *American People*, § 406.

PLATE CII



THE CHRIST OF THE ANDES.

A monument of good-will standing at an elevation of 12,000 feet on the boundary line between Chili and Argentina, erected by the two countries to commemorate their arbitration of the boundary dispute.

the South American republics. Never before had any gathering so nearly approached a "parliament of man." It was found impossible to put any limit upon armament, because the German representatives refused to consider that matter; but agreements were reached to regulate the methods of war in the interests of greater humanity (futile though such agreements were soon to prove), and, in spite of German opposition, the Congress provided a standing International Tribunal for arbitration between nations.

No nation was compelled to submit its quarrels to this Hague Tribunal, but machinery was now ready so that nations could escape war, without loss of dignity, if they desired. (In the following years many important cases were so settled.) The next step was for groups of nations to pledge themselves to make use of this machinery, or of similar machinery. This pledge is the essence of a "general arbitration treaty."

While the Hague Conference was sitting, Chili and Argentina (which had not been invited to the Conference) were on the verge of war over a boundary dispute in the Andes. For the next two years both governments made vigorous preparations, — piling up war taxes, increasing armaments, building and buying ships of war. But at the last moment a popular movement, led by bishops of the Catholic Church in the two countries, brought about arbitration; and soon after, the boundary was adjusted rationally by a commission of geographers and legal experts. So well pleased were the two nations with this individual case of arbitration that they proceeded to adopt a "general treaty" by which they bound themselves, for a period of five years, to submit *all* disputes which might arise between them to a specific tribunal.

Chili and
Argentina

This was the first "general arbitration treaty" ever actually adopted (June, 1903). But others were already in preparation in Europe; and, four months later (October, 1903), France and England adopted one, agreeing to submit future disputes to the Hague Tribunal. Others followed swiftly, until most civilized states (except Germany) were joined with one or more other states in such agreements, usually, however, with important

reservations as to "national honor," which often destroyed the force of the agreement.

Spanish
America

The splendid example to the world set by Argentina and Chile (p. 617 above), suggests forcibly that the Spanish-American states must be taken into account in the future world progress. These two, with Brazil, are the leading South American countries. In recent years the three have shown a growing disposition to act in close agreement in foreign relations, so that they are sometimes referred to (from their initials) as the A B C Concert. The first striking instance of such concert was a joint suggestion from the three in 1915 for mediation between the United States and Mexico, — apparently with view to protecting Mexico against unfriendly designs mistakenly attributed to the United States. (Cf. West's *American People*, 703-4.)

How the Spanish-American states became independent has been briefly told (pp. 457-460). Argentina's war of independence lasted from 1816 to 1823. Some years of turbulent disorder followed; but the adoption of the present republican constitution, in 1853, issued in an orderly and stable era of progress. The country comprises fourteen "States" and ten "Territories," under a federal system similar to that of the United States. In the 'sixties, the government began to build up an excellent system of public schools, with Normal schools officered largely by teachers drawn from the United States. The population is about as large as that of Canada; and indeed Canada and Argentina may be said to be close rivals for second place in power and civilization upon the Western continent.

Brazil became independent of Portugal in 1821, but it kept a monarchic government until 1889. In that year the "emperor," Dom Pedro II, bowed magnanimously to the rising republican sentiment of the country, and, by his abdication, removed the danger of a violent revolution. Brazil's area is greater than that of the United States, but the country is mainly undeveloped. Of a population of 25 millions, only about a third are Whites, and these are settled near the coast.

These two states are perhaps the most progressive of the South

PLATE CIII



COPACABANA, a suburb of Rio de Janeiro, showing the entrance to that city's famous harbor.

American republics, though some of the others press them closely. Until very recent times, the main interest of the outside world in these countries has been in regard to their trade. They export large quantities of agricultural products and of raw materials. Argentina sends to Europe immense shipments of frozen meats and of hides and grain. Brazil exports coffee, sugar, tobacco, cotton, rubber, cocoa, dyewoods, and nuts. Chile sells costly nitrates and large supplies of precious metals. They are making rapid progress in manufacturing; but they are still buyers of factory goods on a large scale.

South
American
trade

The trade of the South American countries is largely in the hands of England — though before the World War Germany had begun to make rapid inroads upon England's control. In spite of her favorable position geographically, the United States has not a sixth as much of that trade as England has.

One of the promising features in present world conditions, however, is the marked tendency in the United States for the people to free themselves from their old ignorant and silly contempt for Spanish America. The increased attention to Spanish in our high schools is a hopeful sign. A true understanding of one another's civilization between the great Republic of the northern continent and its younger sisters to the south will count for progress in many ways — of which improved trade relations will be only the least important.

In 1907 a Second Hague Conference met at the suggestion of the United States. This time the South American republics were represented. The Conference extended somewhat the work of the first meeting. But again England's proposals to limit navies and armies failed *because of opposition from Germany and Austria*. It was growing more and more plain that all these noble efforts for peace were vain unless supplemented by radical measures of disarmament; and Germany's implacable opposition had made it plain that this was unattainable except by a better organized world.

Hague Con-
gress of
1907

Germany's resistance to disarmament was due of course to the militaristic spirit dominating her government (p. 504),

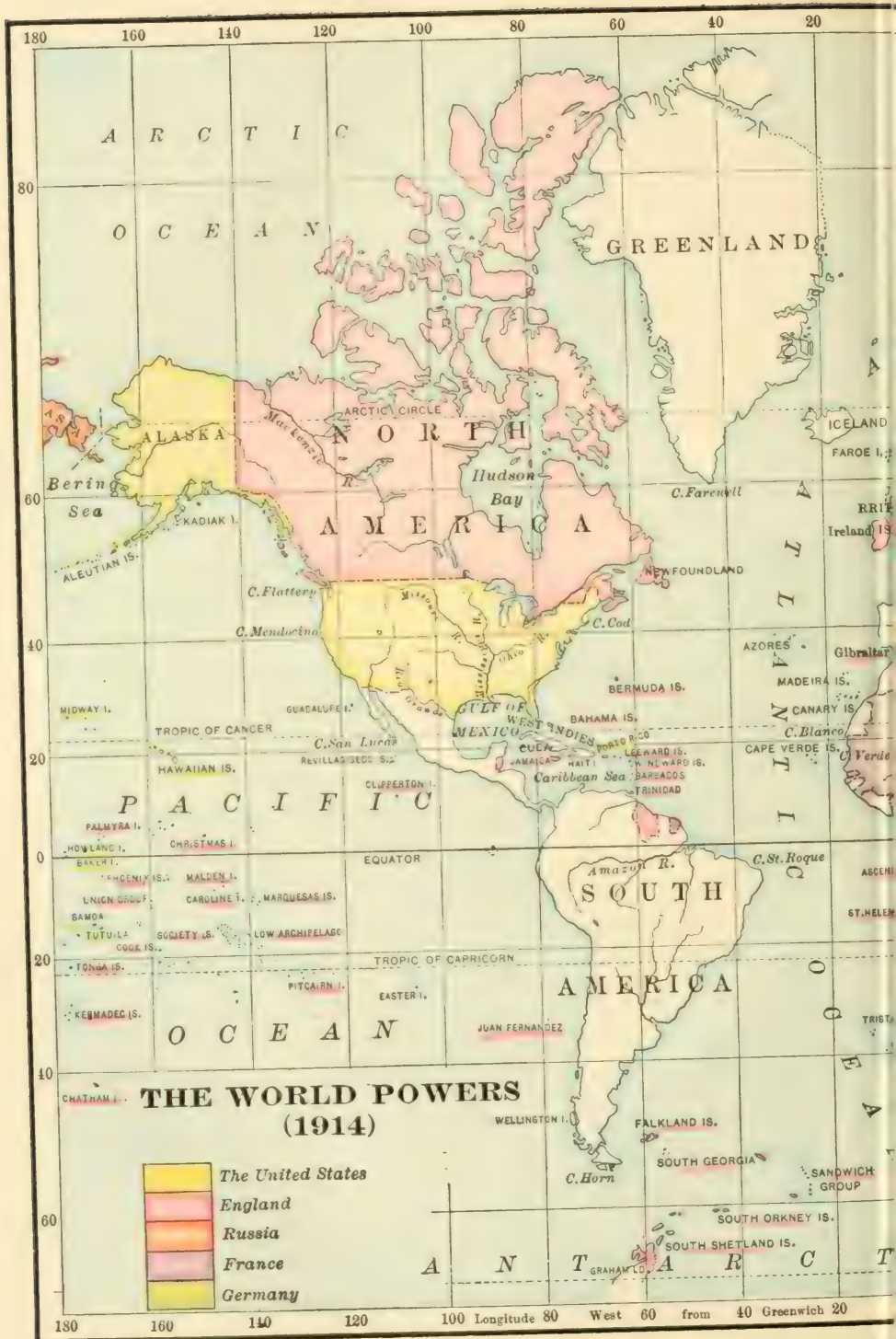
but it was also closely connected with her insistent feeling that she must acquire (by force, since she saw no other way) a larger "place in the sun," — greater colonial dominion. The nineteenth century "expansion" of Europe into Africa and Asia (unlike the colonial expansion of the eighteenth century) had been carried forward at the expense of savage or semi-barbarous peoples only. For a hundred years no "great" war had been waged between Christian nations avowedly for greed. Indeed, toward the close, whenever one nation made an important seizure of booty, some international conference arranged compensatory gains for any seriously discontented rival¹ — and so preserved temporarily a delicate "balance" of interests.

And the
approach
of war

But this balance was one of exceedingly unstable equilibrium. A touch might tip it into universal ruin. *And there were no materials to continue adjusting it on the old plan.* The world was now parceled out. Further expansion of consequence by any "power" meant direct conflict with some other "power." Moreover, so complicated had rivalries and alliances become, any conflict at all now meant a *world* conflict; and, so "improved" were agencies of destruction, a world struggle now meant ruin out of all comparison with earlier wars.

To-day this is plain enough. But until the late summer of 1913 the certain danger was glimpsed but dimly (outside the German war lords) and by only a few "dreamers." Complacently the peoples and their "practical" statesmen continued to drift on the brink of unparalleled disaster. They did not seriously expect ever to use their crushing armaments; but neither did they resolutely seek to get rid of them and to develop this feeble arbitration movement into a real guarantee of peace.

¹ Twice this was done for Germany in reference to African territory — in 1905 and 1911.





PART XVI — THE WORLD WAR

CHAPTER LXIII

THE CONFLAGRATION BURSTS FORTH

I. THE BALKAN SITUATION

We have seen the materials heaped for a world conflagration (pp. 614-615). A fuse was furnished by the Balkan situation. The little Balkan district is a crumpled criss-cross of interlacing mountains and valleys, peopled by tangled fragments of six distinct and mutually hostile peoples: the *Turk*, long encamped as a conqueror among subject Christian populations, but for the last hundred years slowly thrust back toward Constantinople; the *Greeks*, mainly in the southern peninsula, with the *Albanians* just to the north along the Adriatic; the *Roumanians*, mainly north of the Danube; and, between Greece and Roumania, the *Bulgarians* and *Serbs*. The "Bulgars" (on the east, toward the Black Sea) came into the peninsula in the eighth century as conquerors from Central Asia. Originally baggy-trousered nomads, akin to Tartars, they have become essentially Slavic in blood by absorption into the peoples among whom they settled; but they keep a ruinous "patriotic" pride in their ancient history as a race of conquerors. The Serbs are the most direct representatives of the South Slavs who conquered and settled the Balkan region two hundred years before the appearance of the Bulgars; but in 1910 their ancient empire was still in fragments from accidents of Turkish rule. Bosnia, the northwestern part, had maintained itself against the conquering Turk longest, and, becoming a distinct province under the Turks, had never been reunited to the rest of Serbia. The

The Balkan
lands and
peoples

lands of the Croats and Slovenes were reconquered from Turkey by Hungary in the eighteenth century, and had long been subject provinces of the Austrian Empire — though they belonged to Serbia by race, language, and older history. And in the fastnesses of Montenegro ("Black Mountain") dwelt some two hundred thousand half-savage Serbs who had never yielded to the Turk but had kept their independence at the expense of "five hundred years of ferocious heroism."



THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN IN 1878. Bismarck in the central foreground is clasping the hand of the Russian representative. Lord Salisbury, the English delegate, is seated on the left. Turkish and Bulgarian representatives are indicated by their headgear.

Rise of independent Slav states

We have seen how the rule of the Turk in the Balkans began to disintegrate. Greece won independence in an eight-year war (1821-1828); and Roumania and Serbia were advanced to the position of merely tributary states, ruled thenceforth by their own princes. The Crimean War (1856), in which France and England attacked Russia, bolstered up the tottering Ottoman Empire for a time, but a great collapse came twenty years later. The Sultan had promised many reforms for his Christian subjects; but these promises bore no fruit, and in 1875-1876 the Bosnians and Bulgarians rose for independence. There followed the horrible events long known as the "Bulgarian Atrocities." Turkish soldiers destroyed a hundred Bulgarian

villages with every form of devilish torture imaginable, and massacred 30,000 people, carrying off also thousands of Christian girls into terrible slavery. Then Serbia sprang to arms; and Tsar Alexander II of Russia declared war on Turkey. The horror in Western Europe at the crimes of the Turk prevented for a time any interference; and in ten months the Russian armies held the Turks at their mercy. The Peace of San Stefano (1878) arranged for a group of free Slav states in the peninsula and for the exclusion of Turkey from Europe except for the city of Constantinople.

Russo-Turkish War of 1877

But now Europe intervened. Austria wanted a share of Balkan plunder; England feared the advance of Russia toward her communications with India; and so the Peace of San Stefano was torn up. The Congress of Berlin (p. 524), dominated by Disraeli, the English Conservative, restored half the freed Christian populations to their old slavery under the Turk; handed over Bosnia to Austria to "administer" for Turkey, *with a solemn provision that Austria should never annex the territory to her own realms*; and left the whole Balkan district in anarchy for a third of a century more. In fixing responsibility for the World War of 1914, this crime of 1878 cannot be overlooked.

Congress of Berlin, 1878

It is only fair to note that while the English government was chiefly responsible for that crime, the English people promptly repudiated it at the polls. Gladstone came forth from retirement to stump England against the "shameful alliance with Abdul the Assassin"; and at the next elections (1880), Disraeli was overthrown by huge majorities. The wrong to the Balkans could not then be undone, but from this time England drew away from her old policy of courting Turkish friendship — wherein her place was quickly taken by Germany.

In return, the Kaiser expected to make Turkey into a vassal state; and the prospect of German dominance in Asia Minor brought Germany and Austria into closer sympathy in their Balkan policies. Austria's interference in those regions had been purely bad, aiming to keep the little Balkan states weak and mutually hostile, and especially to pre-

German and Austrian plans at one

The
"Middle-
Europe"
dream

vent the growth of a "Greater Serbia." Now (1898, 1899), Germany obtained concessions from Turkey for a railway from "Berlin to Bagdad," to open up the fabulously rich Oriental trade. A powerful Serbia, through which that line must pass, might have hampered the project. Thenceforward Germany was ready to back Austria unreservedly in Balkan aggression. And in return, Austria permitted herself to sink virtually into a vassal of Germany in all other foreign relations. Such was the origin of the German dream of a "Mittel-Europa" empire, reaching across Europe from the North Sea to the Aegean and the Black seas, and on through Asia Minor to the Euphrates.

Austria an-
nexes Bos-
nia, 1908

In 1908 came a step toward fulfilling the plan. Taking advantage of internal dissensions in Turkey that followed the reforms by the young Turks (p. 613), Austria formally annexed Bosnia, in flat contradiction to her solemn pledges. This was not only a brutal stroke at the sanctity of treaties, but it seemed also a fatal blow to any hope for a reunion of that Slav district with Serbia. Serbia protested earnestly, and was supported by Russia. But the Kaiser "took his stand in shining armor by the side of his ally," as he himself put it; and Russia, still weak from her defeat by Japan and from her revolution of 1906, had to back down.

Balkan
Wars of
1912, 1913

Then came an event less favorable to the Teutonic designs. United action by the mutually hostile Balkan states had seemed impossible. But in 1912, Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece suddenly joined in a war to drive the Turk out of Europe. The allies won swift victories, and in a few months were almost at the gates of Constantinople. "Europe" intervened to arrange the peace terms. Italy, like Austria, was hostile to a Greater Serbia; and at the insistence of these powers, backed by Germany, a new Kingdom of Albania was created, shutting off Serbia once more from the sea she had reached, while Montenegro was forced, by threat of war, to give up to Albania Scutari, which she had conquered. Turkey was to surrender, mostly to Bulgaria, her remaining territory in Europe except for Constantinople. Germany had carried her points in this

settlement; but her ally, Turkey, had collapsed, and events were at once to show that in siding with Bulgaria she had blundered again.

The treaty left Bulgaria almost the only gainer. The cheated allies demanded that she now share her gains with them. She



THE BALKAN STATES.

refused; and at once (June, 1913) followed "the Second Balkan War." Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, and Roumania attacked Bulgaria. The Turks seized the chance to reoccupy Adrianople and were permitted to keep it. In a month Bulgaria was crushed, and a new division of booty was arranged. Greece won the richest prize, including the city of Saloniki; but each of the other allies secured gains.

The primitive Balkan peoples now hated one another with an intensified ferocity. Especially did Bulgar now hate Serb and Greek. Serbia, too, was still cheated of her proper desire for an outlet on the Adriatic, her only natural gateway to the

outside world, and she resented fiercely the Austrian and Italian policy which had so balked her — especially as Austria now shut out all her pork, and so made valueless her droves of pigs, her only form of wealth. Austria felt deeply humiliated by the outcome of the Second Balkan War, and was planning to redress her loss of prestige by striking Serbia savagely on the first occasion.

There followed in 1913 a new and ominous stride in militarism. First Germany adopted a new army bill, to increase her army *in peace* from 650,000 to 870,000. Three weeks later (July 20) France raised her term of active service from two years to three, and Austria and Russia at once took like measures. Each country of course found excuse for further efforts in like efforts by its rivals.

II. GERMANY WILLS THE WAR

Drifting

One reason why the world drifted so complacently toward catastrophe was the general belief that, despite their armaments, the great "Christian" states were too good or at least too wise ever again to engage in war with one another merely for plunder — with the terrible ruin that such war must bring under modern conditions. And this belief was in itself a safeguard, in a measure. The catastrophe would at least have been postponed, except that one great nation did not share the faith in peace, or the desire for it. The willing hand to light the deadly fuse was Germany's.

Prussian militarism

For half a century Germany had been ruled by a Prussian despotism resting upon an old bigoted and arrogant oligarchy of birth, and a new, greedy, scheming oligarchy of money. That rule had conferred on Germany many benefits. It had cared for the people as zealously as the herdsman cares for the flocks he expects to shear. But in doing so it had amazingly transformed the old peace-loving, gentle German people. It had taught that docile race to bow to Authority rather than to Right; to believe Germany stronger, wiser, better, than "decaying" England, "decadent and licentious" France, "uncouth and anarchic" Russia, or "money-serving" America; to be ready to

accept a program, at the word of command, for imposing German *Kultur* upon the rest of the world *by force*; to regard war, even aggressive war, not as horrible and sinful, but as beautiful, desirable, and right, — the final measure of a nation's worth, and the divinely appointed means for saving the world by German conquest; and finally to disregard ordinary morality, national or individual, whenever it might interfere with the victory of the "Fatherland."

This diseased "patriotism" began with the war-begotten Empire. As early as 1872, Von Schellendorf, Prussian War-Minister, wrote:

"Cut of
their own
mouths"

"Do not forget the civilizing task which Providence assigns us. Just as Prussia was destined to be the nucleus of Germany, so the new Germany shall be the nucleus of a future Empire of the West. . . . We will successively annex Denmark, Holland, Belgium, . . . and finally northern France. . . . No coalition of the world can stop us." Leaders of German thought adopted this tone, until it dominated pulpit, press, university, and all society. Treitschke, a leading historian, could teach impiously: "War is part of the divinely appointed order. . . . War is both justifiable and moral, and the idea of perpetual peace is both impossible and immoral. . . . The salvation of Germany can be attained only by the annihilation of the smaller states." The Kaiser had long been a noisy preacher of this evil doctrine. Said he (at Bremen, March 22, 1900): "We are the salt of the earth. . . . God has called us to civilize the world. . . . We are the missionaries of human progress." School children had these ideas drilled into them. And *Jung Deutschland*, official organ of the Young German League (an organization corresponding in a rough way to our Boy Scouts), explained more specifically: "*War is the noblest and holiest expression of human activity.* For us, too, the glad, great hour of battle will strike. Still and deep in the German heart must live the joy of battle and the longing for it. Let us ridicule to the utmost the old women in breeches who fear war and deplore it as cruel and revolting. No; *war is beautiful.* Its august sublimity elevates the human heart beyond the earthly and the

common. In the cloud palace above sit the heroes Frederick the Great and Blücher; and all the men of action — the great Emperor, Moltke, Roon, Bismarck — are there as well, but not the old women who would take away our joy in war. . . . *That is the heaven of young Germany.*"

Protests few
and weak

True, a few lonely voices, mainly Socialists, protested against this doctrine of insolent and ruthless Might. Indeed the bulk of the peasants and artisans wished not war but peace; but these were *silent* social forces, unorganized and passive. And even these elements were deeply influenced by the persistent propaganda that England hated their country and was only waiting a chance to destroy it. Between 1912 and 1914, to be sure, the German ambassador to England, Prince Lichnowsky,¹ repeatedly assured his government of England's friendly and pacific feeling. But these communications, so out of tune with the purpose of the German government, never reached the German people.

In June, 1914, the Kiel Canal from the Baltic to the North Sea was finally opened to the passage of the largest ships of war. Now Germany was ready, and her war lords were growing anxious to strike before France and Russia should have time to put into effect their new army laws (p. 626).

The occasion in the
Balkans

And at this instant came just the occasion the German war lords wished. Ever since its unjust seizure by Austria (p. 624), Bosnia had been seething with conspiracies against Austrian rule. June 28, 1914, the heir to the Austrian throne, the Archduke Francis, and his wife, were assassinated while in Bosnia by such conspirators. Austrian papers loudly declared Serbia responsible, but a month passed quietly before the Austrian

¹This cultivated and able German Liberal, wholly free from the spirit of German jingoism, had been selected for the position apparently in order to blind English opinion as to Germany's warlike aims. When the war came, he found himself in disgrace with the Kaiser and the German court; and at the opening of the second year of the war (August, 1916) he wrote an account of his London mission for *private* circulation among his friends, to justify himself in their eyes. A copy fell into the hands of the Allies during the next year, and became at once one of the most valuable proofs of the German guilt in forcing on the war.

government took open action. That month, however, was used in secret preparation by Germany. Then, July 23, without warning, Austria launched her forty-eight hour ultimatum to Serbia — demands that would have degraded that country into a mere vassal state, and which, the minutes of the Austrian Cabinet show, were purposely made impossible of acceptance. The German government supported Austria “to the hilt,” as the Kaiser had promised beforehand to do; and in twelve days a world-conflagration was ablaze. Two facts regarding the negotiations during those days are significant.

1. England persuaded Serbia to offer humble submission (reserving only her national independence), and then implored Germany to help get Austria’s consent to arbitrate the remaining points. Failing this, England pled, in vain, that Germany herself suggest some plan to preserve peace. Lichnowsky believed that if his country had wished peace, a settlement could easily have been secured, and he “strongly backed” the English proposals; but in vain. “We insisted on war,” he says in his account to his friends; “the impression grew that we wanted war under any circumstances. It was impossible to interpret our attitude in any other way.” At the time, too, the German Socialist, Liebknecht, declared: “The decision rests with William II. . . . But the war lords are at work . . . without a qualm of conscience . . . to bring about a monstrous world war, the devastation of Europe” (*Vorwärts*, July 30, 1914).

England’s
efforts to
keep the
peace

2. The German government forced on the war (even when Austria for a moment showed hesitation) by a series of ultimatums to Russia, France, and Belgium, each justified to the German people by glaring falsehoods — which, however, convinced them at the time that they must fight in self-defense.

Germany
wills war

August 3, German troops invaded Belgium, as the easy road to Paris, despite the most solemn treaty obligations to respect the neutrality of that land. And the same day England “went in.” This upset German calculations. Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg had believed that “shop-keeping” England would refuse to fight, and he expressed bitterly to the English ambassador

his amazement that England should enter the war "just for a scrap of paper." The irritating consciousness of a blunder called forth a frenzy of hate against England — whose overthrow in a later war was now openly avowed as the real German goal. "May God blast England" became the daily greeting among the German people.

FOR FURTHER READING on the war and its causes : Gibbons' *New Map of Europe, 1911-1914*; Loveburn's *How the War Came*; Rose's *Origins of the War*; Spencer's *Our War with Germany*; Carlton Hayes' *The Great War*.



WINDSOR CASTLE.
A home of the British Sovereign.

CHAPTER LXIV

FOUR YEARS OF WAR

The Germans had planned a short war. They had expected (1) to go through Belgium swiftly with little opposition, and to take Paris within four weeks; (2) then to swing their strength against Russia before that unwieldy power could get into the war effectively, and crush her; and (3) with the Channel forts at command, to bring England easily to her knees, if she should really take part. German plans

Thanks to Belgium, the first of these expectations fell through — and the others fell with it. The Germans had allowed *six* days to march through Belgium. But for sixteen days little Belgium held back mighty Germany. When the French began to gather their troops, after August 2, they began it to meet an honest attack through Lorraine; but before the Belgians were quite crushed, the French contrived to shift enough force to the north so that, along with a poorly equipped "Expeditionary Army" of 100,000 from England, they managed to delay the advance through northern France for three weeks more — ground for which the Germans had allowed eight days. Tremendously outnumbered, outflanked, trampled into the dust in a ceaseless series of desperate battles, the thin lines of Allied survivors fell back doggedly toward the Marne. There September 6, when the boastful invaders were in sight of the towers of Paris, the French and English turned at bay in a colossal battle along a two-hundred mile front. The Battle of the Marne wrecked the German plan. To save themselves from destruction the invaders then retreated hastily to the line of the Aisne, whence the exhausted Allies failed to dislodge them. Both sides "dug in" along a 360-mile front from Switzerland to the North Sea. Then began a trench war- Battle of the Marne

fare, new in history; and, in spite of repeated and horrible slaughter, the positions were not materially changed until the final months four years later.

**England's
sea power**

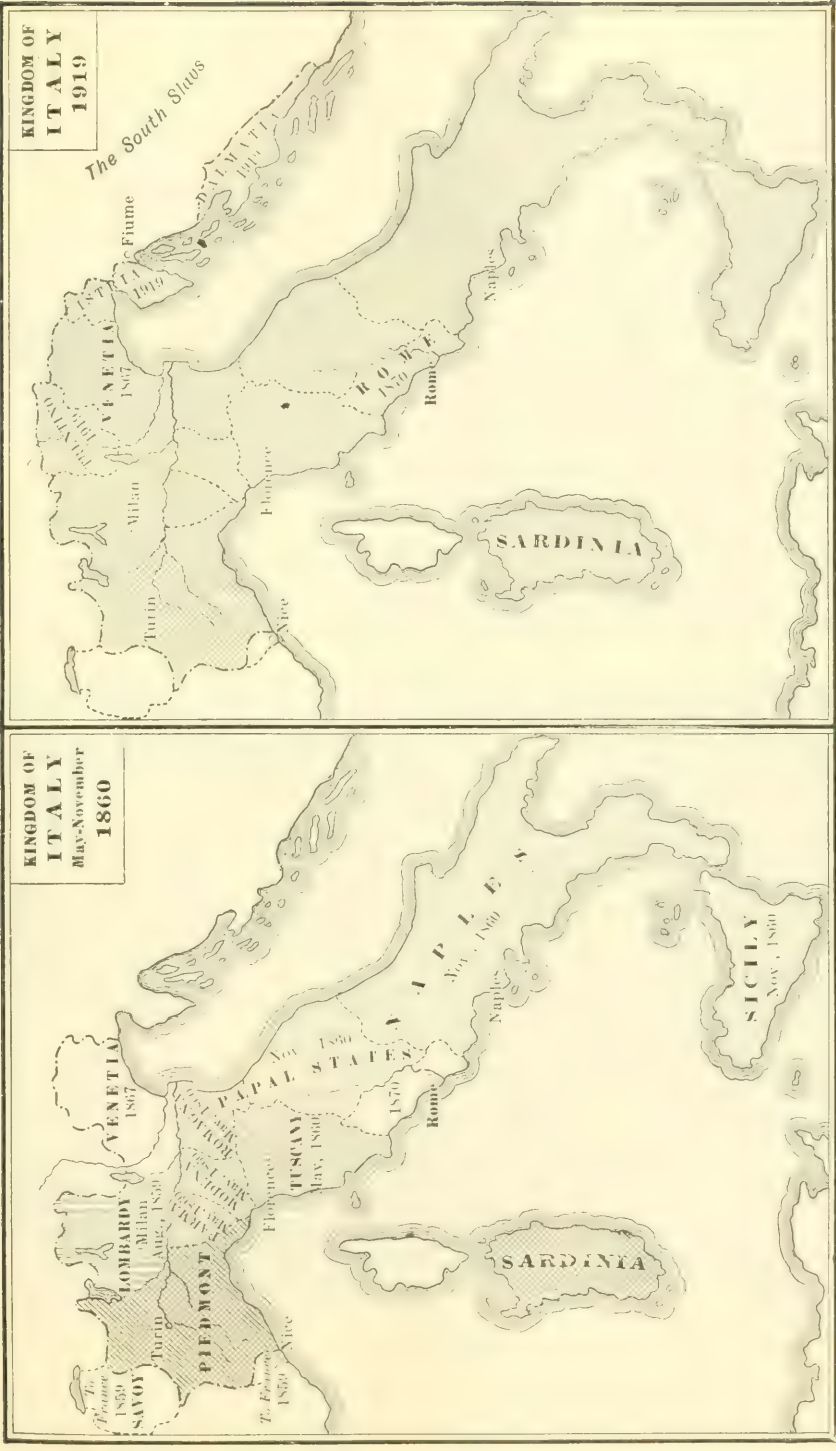
While England's first heroic army died devotedly to gain their country time, England organized herself for war, and eventually put into the field a splendid fighting force of six million men — a million ready for the second year. From the first, too, England's superb navy swept the seas, keeping the boastful German dreadnoughts bottled up in the South Baltic, and gradually running down the few German raiders that at first escaped to prey on English commerce. Except for the English navy, Germany must have won the war before the end of the second summer. England did not enforce her blockade of Germany rigidly, in the first months, for fear of offending unsettled opinion in America; but America's resources in food and munitions were for the most part closed to Germany, and were kept fully available for the Allies.

**A "World
War"**

Meantime, the war was spreading. Within the first few weeks, England's distant daughter-commonwealths — Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and even her subject India — were rousing themselves nobly to defend their common civilization. Japan, England's ally in the Orient, entered the war, too, to seize Germany's holdings in China and in the northern Pacific. Turkey had openly joined the Teutonic powers; and, in the second autumn, Bulgaria did so, hoping to wreak vengeance on Serbia for 1913 and to make herself the dominant Balkan state. In 1915, too, after driving a hard bargain with the Allies in a secret Pact of London, Italy broke away from the Triple Alliance and declared war on Austria.

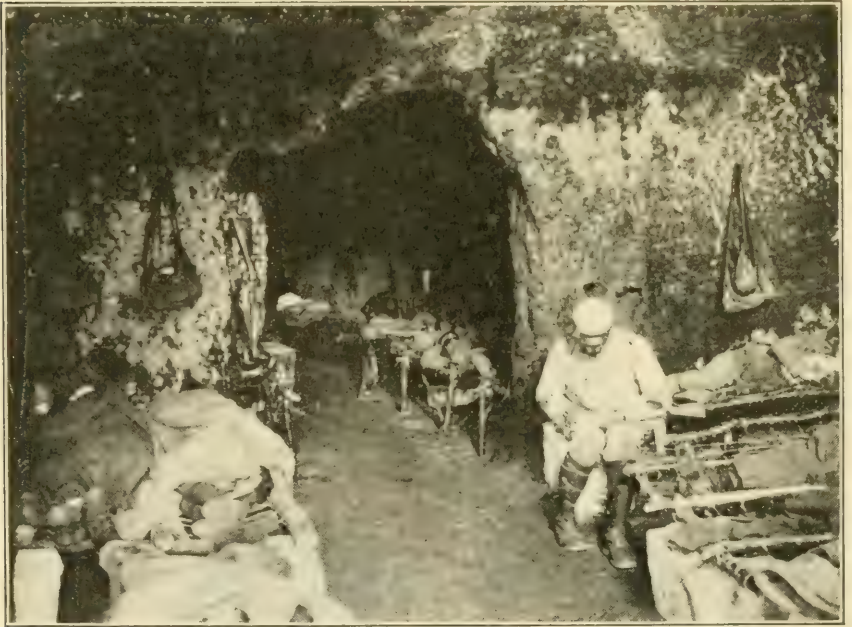
**German
success in
the first
two years**

On the whole, however, the close of the first two years saw great gains for Germany. The Russian armies, after gallant fighting, betrayed by generals in the field and by a traitorous pro-German war office at home, had suffered indescribable losses; and Serbia, after heroic resistance, had been wiped from the map. Germany now dominated a solid broad belt of territory from Berlin and Brussels and Warsaw to Bagdad and Persia



ITALY IN 1860 AND IN 1919.

PLATE CIV



ABOVE. — FRENCH INFANTRY IN ACTION NEAR LORETTE. The photo shows a German shell bursting near the trench.

BELOW. — A FRENCH DUGOUT. The photo (taken by flashlight) shows exhausted soldiers sleeping, while one, on watch, is writing home.

(map, p. 643). True, she began to feel terribly the blockade of the English navy. Her stocks of fats, rubber, cotton, and copper were running low, and her poorer classes were suffering from undernourishment — as was shown by a horrible increase in the infant death rate. But the ruling classes felt no pinch, and looked hopefully now to the domination of the East to retrieve the markets.

From the first the warfare in the field was marked by new and ever more terrible ways of fighting, with increasing ferocity and horror from month to month. Ordinary cannon were replaced by huge new guns whose high explosives blasted the whole landscape into indescribable and irretrievable ruin — burying whole battalions alive, and forming great craters where snipers found the best shelter in future advances. Ordinary defense works were elaborated into many lines of connected trenches, protected by mazy entanglements of barbed wire and strengthened at intervals by bomb-proof “dugouts” and underground chambers of heavy timbers and cement. To plow through these intrenchments, cavalry gave way to monstrous, heavily armored motor-tanks. New guns belched deadly poison gases, slaying whole regiments in horrible strangling torture when the Germans first used this devilish device, and infernal “flame-throwers” wrapped whole ranks in liquid fire. Scout-ing was done, and gunfire directed, by airplanes equipped with new apparatus for wireless telegraphy and for photography; and daily these aerial scouts, singly or in fleets, met in deadly combat ten thousand feet above the ground, — combat that ended only when one or both went hurtling down in flames to crashing destruction.

**New
methods of
warfare**

One phase of the war compelled from the first the attention of the world even outside Europe. This was the policy of “Frightfulness” deliberately adopted by the German High Command. For centuries, international law had been building up rules of “civilized” war, to protect non-combatants and to try to preserve some shreds of humanity even among

**German
“Fright-
fulness”**

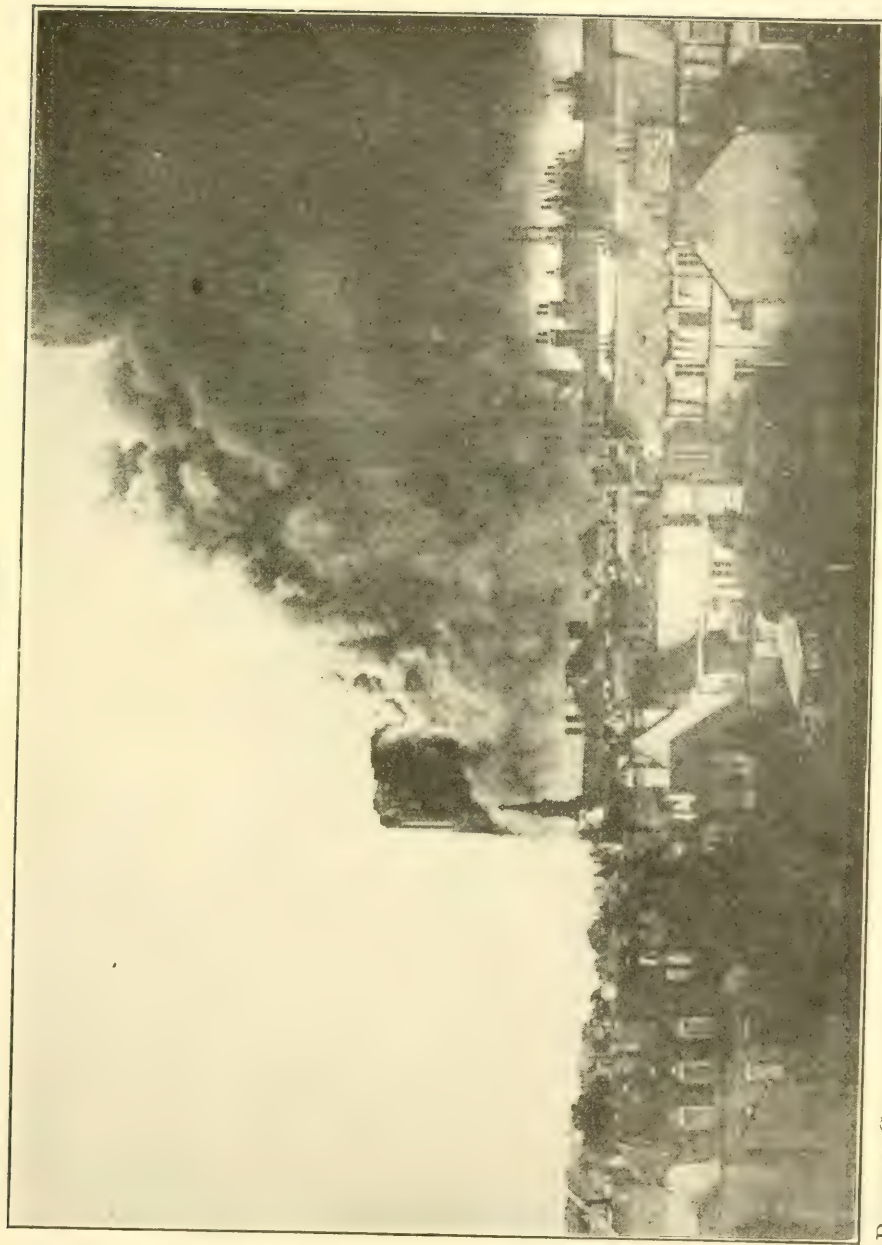
the fighters. But the military rulers of Germany, in official war manuals, had for years referred to such "moderation" as "flabby sentimentality."

At the opening of the war, the new German policy was put into effect in Western Europe. Belgium and northeastern France were purposely devastated, — not by the passionate fury of brutalized soldiers, but by deliberate order of polished soft-living "gentlemen," just to break the morale of the enemy, to make it easy to hold conquered territory with small forces, and to intimidate neighboring small peoples, — Danes and Dutch. It was this policy that caused even neutral lands to know the German soldier no longer as the kindly "Fritz" but as "Hun."

America's
"neutrality"

To the United States, even more than to France or England, the war came as a surprise; and for some time its purposes and its origin were obscured by a skillful German propaganda in our press. President Wilson issued the usual proclamation of neutrality, and followed this with unusual and solemn appeals to the American people for a real neutrality of *feeling*. For two years the administration clung to this policy. Any other course was made difficult for the President by the fact that many members of Congress were either pro-German or at least bitterly anti-English. Moreover, the President seems to have hoped nobly that if the United States could keep apart from the struggle, it might, at the close, render mighty service in establishing a lasting world peace.

True, the best informed men and women saw at once that France and England were waging America's war, against a militaristic despotism. Tens of thousands of young Americans, largely college men, made their way to the fighting line as volunteers, in the Canadian regiments, in the French "Foreign Legion," or in the "air service"; and hundreds of thousands more blushed with shame daily that other and weaker peoples should struggle and suffer in our cause while we stood idly by. But to other millions the dominant feeling was a deep thankfulness that our sons were safe from slaughter, our homes free from the horror of war. Vast portions of the American people



RHEIMS CATHEDRAL (cf. plate after p. 304) at 6:30 A.M., after the second wanton night bombardment by the Germans. The destruction of this famous structure served no military purpose.

had neither cared nor known about the facts back of the war : to such, that mighty struggle was merely "a bloody *European* squabble."

Some leaders, too, in all the great reform movements, believing that in *any* war the attention of the nation must be diverted from the pressing need of progress at home, failed to see that German militarism and despotism had suddenly towered into the one supreme peril to American freedom, and so cast their weight for neutrality. And then, cheek by jowl with this misled idealism, there flaunted itself a coarse pro-German sentiment wholly un-American. Sons and grandsons of men who had fled from Germany to escape despotism were heard now as apologists for the most dangerous despotism and the most barbarous war methods the modern world had ever seen. Organized and obedient to the word of command, this element made many weak politicians truckle to the fear of "the German vote."

Moreover, the country had begun to feel a vast business prosperity. The European belligerents were clamoring to buy all our spare products at our own prices, — munitions of war, food, clothing, raw materials. To be sure, the English navy soon shut out Germany from direct trade, though she long continued an eager customer, indirectly, through Holland and Denmark ; but in any case the Allies called ceaselessly for more than we could produce. Non-employment vanished ; wages rose by bounds ; new fortunes piled up as by Aladdin's magic. A busy people, growing richer and busier day by day, ill-informed about the real causes of the war, needed some mighty incentive to turn it from the easy, peaceful road of prosperous industry into the stern, rugged paths of self-denial and war. A little wisdom on Germany's part, and she might have held America bound to neutrality in acts at least, if not always in feeling.

But more and more Germany made neutrality impossible. From the first the German government actively stirred up bad feeling toward America among its own people because Americans used the usual and legal rights of citizens of a neutral power to sell *munitions of war* to the belligerents. Germany had securely

Germany
makes
neutrality
difficult

**Sale of
munitions**

supplied herself in advance, and England's navy now shut her out from the trade in any case. So she tried, first by cajolery and then by threats, to keep Americans from selling to her enemies — which would have left them at her mercy, unprepared as they were. The *legal* right of a neutral to sell munitions she could not question. She demanded of us not that we *comply with* international law, but that we *change* it in such a way as to insure her victory. For the American government to have forbidden trade in munitions during the war would have been not neutrality, but a direct and deadly act of war against the Allies. Worse still, it would have fastened militarism upon the world directly. For neutrals to renounce trade in munitions (until all such trade is controlled by a world federation) would be at once and forever to hand over the world to the nation with the largest armaments and munition factories. Very properly the American government refused firmly to notice these arrogant demands.

**The sub-
marine and
merchant
ships**

One phase of German frightfulness came home especially to America. This was a new and barbarous submarine warfare, with its invasion of neutral rights and murder of neutral lives. U-craft were not very dangerous to warships when such vessels were on their guard. Unarmed merchantmen they could destroy almost at will. But if a U-boat summoned a merchantman to surrender, the merchantman might possibly sink the submarine by one shot from a concealed gun, and in any case the U-boat had little room for prisoners. Submarine warfare upon merchant ships is necessarily barbarous and in conflict with all the principles of international law. If it is to be efficient, the U-boat must sink *without warning*. In the American Civil War, when the Confederate *Alabama* destroyed hundreds of Northern merchant ships, it scrupulously cared for the safety of the crews and passengers. But from the first the German submarines torpedoed English and French peaceful merchant ships without notice, so that little chance was given even for women and children to get into the lifeboats. Then the second year of the war saw a sudden expansion of this horrible form of murder. In February of 1915 Germany pro-

claimed a "submarine blockade" of the British Isles. She drew a broad zone on the high seas and declared that any merchant ships, *even those of neutral nations*, found within those waters, would be sunk without warning. The world still refused to believe that so brutal a threat was seriously meant, until, May 7, the great English liner *Lusitania* was torpedoed without any attempt to save life.

**The
*Lusitania***

Nearly twelve hundred non-combatants, many of them women and children, were drowned, and one hundred and fourteen of these murdered passengers were American citizens. Now indeed from much of America there went up a fierce cry for war; but large parts of the country, remote from the seaboard, were still indifferent, and shameless apologists were not lacking for even this dastardly massacre. President Wilson, still zealous for peace, used every resource of diplomacy to induce Germany to abandon her horrible submarine methods, — pointing out distinctly, at the same time, in his series of four "Lusitania Notes" that persistence in that policy would force America to fight. The German government answered with quibbles and contemptuous neglect. Other merchant vessels were sunk, and finally (March, 1916) the sinking of the *Sussex*, an English passenger ship, again involved the murder of American citizens. President Wilson's note to Germany took a still sterner tone and specifically declared that one more such act would cause him to break off diplomatic relations. Germany now seemed to give way. She promised, grudgingly and with loopholes for future use, to sink no more passenger or merchant ships — unless they should attempt to escape capture — without providing for the safety of passengers and crews (May 4). This episode, running over into the *third* year, closed the first stage of this controversy. President Wilson seemed to have won a victory for civilization. As he afterward complained, the precautions taken by the Germans to save neutrals or non-combatants proved "distressingly meager," but for some time "a certain degree of restraint was observed."

The *Sussex*

**Germany
promises
amendment**

In this interval came the American presidential campaign

The
American
presidential
election of
1916

German
intrigue in
neutral
America

The danger
to America

of 1916. Mr. Wilson drew much strength in the West and with the working classes from the fact that he had "kept us out of war," though at the same time every voter with a German name received circular after circular from "German-American" societies urging opposition to him as a foe to "the Fatherland." Neither party really made the war an issue; and Mr. Wilson was reelected by a close vote. No sooner had the dust of the campaign cleared away than the American people began to find indisputable proofs of new treacheries and new attacks by Germany, *even within American borders*. Official representatives of Germany in the United States, protected by their diplomatic position, had placed their hirelings as spies and plotters throughout the land. They had used German money, with the approval of the German government, to bribe American officials and even to "influence" Congress. They had paid public speakers to foment distrust and hatred toward the Allies. They had hired agitators to stir up strikes and riots in order to paralyze industries. Each week brought fresh proof of such outrage — more and more frequently, formal proof in the courts — and finally President Wilson dismissed the Austrian ambassador (who had been directly implicated) and various guilty officers connected with the German embassy.

All this turned attention more and more to the hostility to America plainly avowed for years by German leaders. Said the Kaiser himself to the American ambassador (October 22, 1915), at a time when our government was showing extreme gentleness in calling Germany to account for her murder of peaceful American citizens on the high seas: "*America had better look out. . . . I shall stand no nonsense from America after this war.*" Other representative Germans threatened more specifically that when England had been conquered, Germany, unable to indemnify herself in exhausted Europe for her terrible expenses, would take that indemnity from the rich and unwarlike United States. It came home to us that our fancied security — unprepared for war as we were — was due only to the protecting shield of England's fleet. If Germany came out victor from the European struggle, we must give up our unmilitaristic

life, and turn our country *permanently* into a huge camp, on the European model — and there was doubt whether time would be given to form such a camp. *German militaristic despotism and peace for free peoples could not exist in the same world.*

Germany now had ready a new fleet of enlarged submarines, and she was about to resume her barbarous warfare upon neutrals. She knew this *might* join the United States to her foes; but she held us impotent in war, and believed she could keep us busied at home. To this last end, through her ambassador at Washington — while he was still enjoying our hospitality — she had secretly been trying, as we learned a little later, to get Mexico and Japan to join in an attack upon us, *promising them aid and huge portions of our western territory.* January 31, the German government gave a two weeks' notice that it was to renew its "unrestricted" submarine policy, explaining to its own people, with moral callousness, why it had for a time appeared to yield to American pressure — and offering to America an insulting privilege of sending one ship a week to England, provided it were painted in stripes of certain colors and width, and provided it followed a certain narrow ocean lane marked out by Germany. President Wilson at once dismissed the German ambassador, according to his promise of the preceding March, and recalled our ambassador from Berlin. March 12, after a number more of American citizens had been murdered at sea,¹ he placed guards on our merchant vessels. Germany announced that such guards if captured would be treated as pirates!

Germany
renews
"unre-
stricted"
U-boat
warfare

Now the temper of America was changing swiftly. Apathy vanished. Direct and open opposition to war there still was from pro-Germans and from extreme pacifists, but the great

¹ Besides the eight American vessels sunk before March, 1916, eight had been sunk in the one month from February 3 to March 2, 1917. During the two months, February and March, 105 Norwegian vessels were sunk, with the loss of 328 lives. By April 3, 1917, according to figures compiled by the United States government, 686 neutral vessels had been sunk by Germany *without* counting American ships. When we turn to the still more important question of lives, we count up 226 American citizens slain by the action of German submarines before April, 1917. Before the close of the war, 5000 Norwegian sailors were murdered so.

America
"goes in"

majority of the nation roused itself to defend the rights of mankind, and turned its eyes confidently to the President for a signal. April 2 President Wilson appeared before the new Congress, met in special session, to ask it to declare that we were now at war with Germany. April 6, by overwhelming votes, that declaration was adopted.

America's
aims

America went to war not to avenge slights to its "honor," or merely to protect the property of its citizens, or even merely to protect their lives at sea. We did war for these things, but more in defense of free government, in defense of civilization, in defense of humanity, and in hope of establishing a lasting world peace. Said the President's war message:

"We are glad . . . to fight for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, *the German people included*. . . . The world must be made safe for democracy. . . . We have no selfish ends. We desire no conquests, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensations for the sacrifices we shall freely make. . . . The right is more precious than peace; and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations."

The war
spreads

And now the war spread more widely still. Cuba at once followed the example of the United States in declaring war against Germany, and most of the countries of South and Central America either took the same action within a few months or at least broke off diplomatic relations with the Central European Powers. Portugal had entered the war in 1916, because of her alliance with England. China and Siam now joined the Allies. None of the new powers except America, however, were to have direct effect upon military operations.

Through 1916 those operations had continued favorable to Germany. True, the East front offered two promising surprises

PLATE CVI



ABOVE. — REVIEW OF FRENCH TROOPS AT MOSELLES.

BELOW. — RANGE-FINDING. French artillery officers discovering position of an enemy battery with the "range-finder," and telephoning directions to their own battery far behind them. A scene in the Argonne forest.

on the side of the Allies, but each was followed by swift collapse.

(1) Russia at first showed remarkable recovery, and in June won sweeping successes against the Austrians. By July, however, her supplies of ammunition had again given out, and she

Russian
collapse

was saved from complete overthrow, for the moment, only by sacrificing Roumania. (2) For now that country had entered the

Roumania
crushed

war, to recover from Austria the Roumanian province of Transylvania. But the Tsar had induced her to go in too soon by

promises of support that was never given. Bulgarians and Teutons entered the doomed country from south and west.

December 16 the capital fell, and only the rigors of winter enabled the Roumanian army to keep a hold upon a narrow strip

of territory. A large Allied army at Saloniki did not stir, because if it left its base, it was in peril of being stabbed in the

back by Constantine of Greece; and the Tsar vetoed all proposals of effective measures against that fellow monarch.

And, in spite of America's entry into the war, Germany continued to win through 1917 also. Russia did drop out. The

Tsar had fallen under the control of a traitorous German faction of the court, which planned a separate peace. Then suddenly

his ministers maddened the Petrograd populace by permitting or preparing breakdown in the distribution of food. March 11,

the populace rose. The troops joined the rioters. Absolutely deserted by all classes, Nicholas abdicated on March 15. The

The Russian
Revolution
of 1917

Liberal leaders of the Duma proclaimed a provisional government, which in a few weeks (June, 1917) was replaced by a

Socialist-Democratic government led by Kerensky, an emotional, well-meaning enthusiast, altogether unfit to grapple with the

Kerensky

tremendous difficulties before Russia.

Finland, the Ukrainian districts, and Siberia were breaking away from central Russia. Everywhere the starving and desperate

peasants had begun to appropriate the lands of the great estates, sometimes quietly, sometimes with violence and outrage.

Transportation was broken down, and the crude industrial system was gone. The army was completely demoralized.

The peasant soldiers, so often betrayed by their officers, were eager for peace. Whole regiments and brigades mutinied,

The Bolshe-
viki

And a sepa-
rate peace

The Italian
collapse

murdered their despotic officers, broke up, and went home to get their share of land. The remaining army was intoxicated with the new political "liberty," and fraternized with the few German regiments left to watch it. During this chaos, real power, over nearly all Russia, fell to new councils of workingmen's delegates (with representatives also from the army and the peasantry). The Extreme Socialists (Bolsheviki) saw that these "soviets," rather than the old agencies, had become the real government, and by shrewd political campaigning they captured these bodies. Kerensky fled, and (November 7, 1917) the Bolsheviki, led by Nikolai Lenin and Leon Trotsky, seized the government, announcing their determination to make peace upon the principle of "no indemnities and no annexations." The Allies felt deeply indignant at the "betrayal" of the cause of freedom; but it is clear now that no Russian government could have continued the struggle. The Russian people had borne greater sacrifice than any other; they were absolutely without resources; they were unspeakably weary of war; and they failed to understand that German victory would mean the return of Tsarism.

The Russian collapse had been caused in part by skillful German propaganda among the Russian soldiers that the war was the Tsar's war, or at least a capitalist war, and that their German brothers were ready to give the new Russia a fair peace. Now, like tactics were used against the Italians, until their military machine, too, went to pieces. Then the Austrians suddenly took the offensive. They tore a huge gap in the Italian lines, took 200,000 prisoners and a great part of Italy's heavy artillery, and advanced into Venetia, driving the remnants of the Italian army before them in rout. French and British reinforcements were hurried in; and the Teutons proved unable to force the Piave River. Italy had not been put out of the war as Russia had been; but for the next six months, until well into the next year, the most that she could do, even with the help of the Allied forces sadly needed elsewhere, was to hold her new line.

On the West front, the Allies took the offensive, but made

small progress, because now the Germans were able to transfer there their best divisions from the Russian front. The brightest phase of the year's struggle was at the point where there had seemed the greatest peril. Germany's new submarine warfare had indeed destroyed an enormous shipping tonnage, and for a few months had promised to make good the

The failure
of the sub-
marine /



THE MITTEL-EUROPA EMPIRE at its greatest extent in March, 1918. In Asia, only a few months before it had reached to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea (cf. p. 649).

threat of starving England into surrender. But an admirable English convoy system was organized to protect important merchant fleets; shipbuilding was speeded up to supply the place of tonnage sunk; submarine chasers and patrol boats waged relentless, daring, and successful war against the barbarous craft of the enemy. America sent five battleships to reinforce the British Grand Fleet and a much more considerable addition to the anti-submarine fleet; and newly created American shipyards had begun to launch new cargo ships in ever in-

creasing numbers, upon a scale never before known to the world. The Allies were kept supplied with food and other necessities enough to avert any supreme calamity, and before September, 1917, it had become plain that submarines were not to be the decisive factor in the war.

America
gets into
the war

And now America was getting into the struggle more swiftly than either friend or foe had dreamed possible. The general expectation had been that, totally unprepared as the United States was, her chief contribution would be in money, ships, and supplies. These she gave in generous measure. But also, from the first, the government planned military participation on a huge scale. Congress was induced to pass a "selective conscription" act; and as early as June a small contingent of excellent fighters was sent to France — mainly from the old regular army — under the command of General John J. Pershing. In the early fall, new regiments were transported (some 300,000 before Christmas), and perhaps half a million more were in training. Then events made a supreme exertion necessary, and America met the need.

French dis-
couragement

France could stand one year more of war, but she was very nearly "bled white," as Germany had boasted. Her working classes were war-weary and discouraged, and the Germans had infected all classes in that country more or less successfully with their poisonous and baseless propaganda to the effect that England was using France to fight her battles, and that she herself was bearing far less than her proper share of the burden. French morale was in danger of giving way, as Russian and Italian had given way. It was saved by two things: by the tremendous energy of the aged Clemenceau — "The Tiger" — whom the crisis had called to the premiership; and by the appearance in France, none too soon, of American soldiers in large numbers.

A race
between
Germany
and America

Thus in 1918 the war became a race between Germany and America. Could America put decisive numbers in action on the West front before Germany could deliver a knock-out blow? The German war lords thought not. The Allies, they insisted, had not enough shipping to bring Americans in large

PLATE CVII



JOHN J. PERSHING.

numbers with the necessary supplies; and then the Americans "couldn't fight" without years of training! But while winter held the German armies inactive, the British and American navies carried each week thousands of American soldiers to France. And during these same months America and England won a supremely important victory in the moral field. Austria, now under a new emperor, suggested peace negotiations in a conciliatory note — possibly hoping also to weaken Allied morale. Instead, in two great speeches, Premier Lloyd George and President Wilson stated the war aims of the Allies with a studious moderation which conciliated wavering elements in their own countries, and at the same time with a keen logic that put Germany in the wrong even more clearly than before in the eyes of the world and drove deeper the wedge between the German government and the German people. Lloyd George (January 6, 1918) demanded complete reparation for Belgium, *but disclaimed intention to exact indemnities other than payment for injuries done by Germany in defiance of international law.* President Wilson had already declared that there could be no safe peace with the faithless Hohenzollern government; and now his address contained his famous Fourteen Points, which were soon accepted apparently throughout the Allied world as a charter of a coming world peace. The more important of these were as follows:

**The
"Fourteen
Points"**

1. "Open covenants of peace, *openly arrived at*: after which, diplomacy shall proceed always . . . in the public view." . . . 3. Removal, so far as possible, of economic barriers. 4. Disarmament by international action. 5. An "absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims . . . the interests of peoples concerned to have equal weight with the equitable claim of the government whose title is to be determined." 6. Evacuation of all Russian territory, and . . . "a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing, [with] assistance also of every kind that she may herself desire." 7. Evacuation and restoration of Belgium. 8. Reparation for devastation in France, and return of Alsace-Lorraine. 9. "Readjustment of the frontiers of Italy . . . *along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.*" . . . 11. Serbia to be given a free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the Balkan states to be "determined by friendly council *along clearly recognizable lines of allegiance and na-*

tionality." 13. A free Poland (with access to the sea), "to include the territories inhabited by *indisputably Polish populations*." 14. A "general association of nations" under specific covenants.

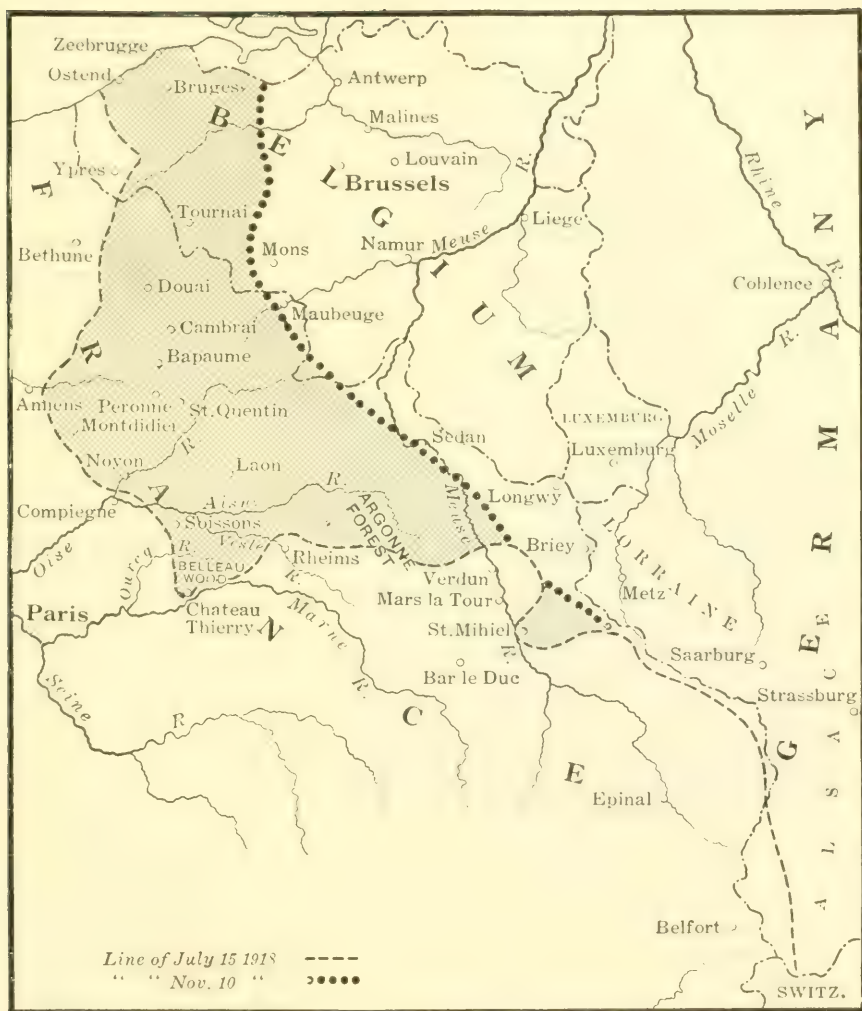
The significance of the Fourteen Points lay even more in their spirit than in these detailed provisions. "We have no jealousy of German greatness," concluded this great utterance, "*and there is nothing in this program that impairs it*. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade, if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing."

Brest-
Litovsk

And now Germany herself made plain how absolutely right the Allies were in their contention that the Hohenzollerns could be trusted to keep no promises. March 3, 1918, the German militarists, with the grossest of bad faith, shamelessly broke their many pledges to the helpless Bolsheviks and forced upon Russia the "Peace of Brest-Litovsk." By that dictated treaty, Germany virtually became overlord to a broad belt of vassal states taken from Russia — Finland, the Baltic Provinces, Lithuania, Poland, Ukraine — and even the remaining "Great Russia" had to agree to German control of her industrial reorganization. When the German perfidy had revealed itself suddenly, after long and deceitful negotiations, the angered and betrayed Bolsheviks wished to renew the war. They were absolutely helpless, however, without prompt Allied aid upon a large scale. This aid they asked for, but urgent cablegrams brought no answer. The Allies apparently had been so repelled by the Bolshevik industrial and political policy that they were unwilling to deal with that government, and preferred to leave Russia to its fate — and to the Germans.

The last
German
offensive

Naturally the Germans opened the campaigns in the West at the earliest moment possible. They had now a vast superiority both in men and in heavy guns there. March 21 they attacked the British lines in Picardy with overwhelming forces. After five days of terrific fighting the British were hurled out of their trench lines and driven back with frightful losses nearly to Amiens, leaving a broad and dangerous gap



GERMAN LINES ON JULY 15 AND NOVEMBER 10, 1918.

between them and the French. But the Germans had exhausted themselves in their mass attack; and, while they paused, a French force threw itself into the gap, and British reserves reinforced the shattered front lines.

For the first time since the First Battle of the Marne, the Germans had forced the fighting on the West front into the open. In April they struck again farther north, in Flanders, and again they seemed almost to have overwhelmed the British; but, fighting desperately, "with our backs to the wall," as Haig phrased it in his solemn order to his dying army, and reinforced by some French divisions, the British kept their front unbroken, bent and thinned though it was. After another month of preparation, the Germans struck fiercely in a general attack on the French lines north of the Aisne, and, breaking through for the moment on an eighteen-mile front, once more reached the Marne.

Here, however, they were halted, largely by American troops, at Château-Thierry. Then, while the Americans made splendid counter-attacks, as at Belleau Wood (renamed, for them, "Wood of the Marines"), the French lines were reformed, so that the Allies still presented a continuous front, irregular though it was with dangerous salients and wedges. At almost the same time, Austria, forced into action again in Italy by German insistence, was repulsed in a general attack on the Piave.

Time was fighting for the Allies. Disasters had at last in-



GENERAL HAIG, who succeeded to the British command in 1916.

Château-
Thierry

**Ferdinand
Foch**

duced them to appoint a generalissimo. This position was given to Ferdinand Foch, who, though then a subordinate, had been the real hero of the First Marne. For the rest of the struggle, the Allied forces were directed with a unity and skill that had been impossible under divided commands, even with the heartiest desire for coöperation.

**The Ameri-
cans arrive**

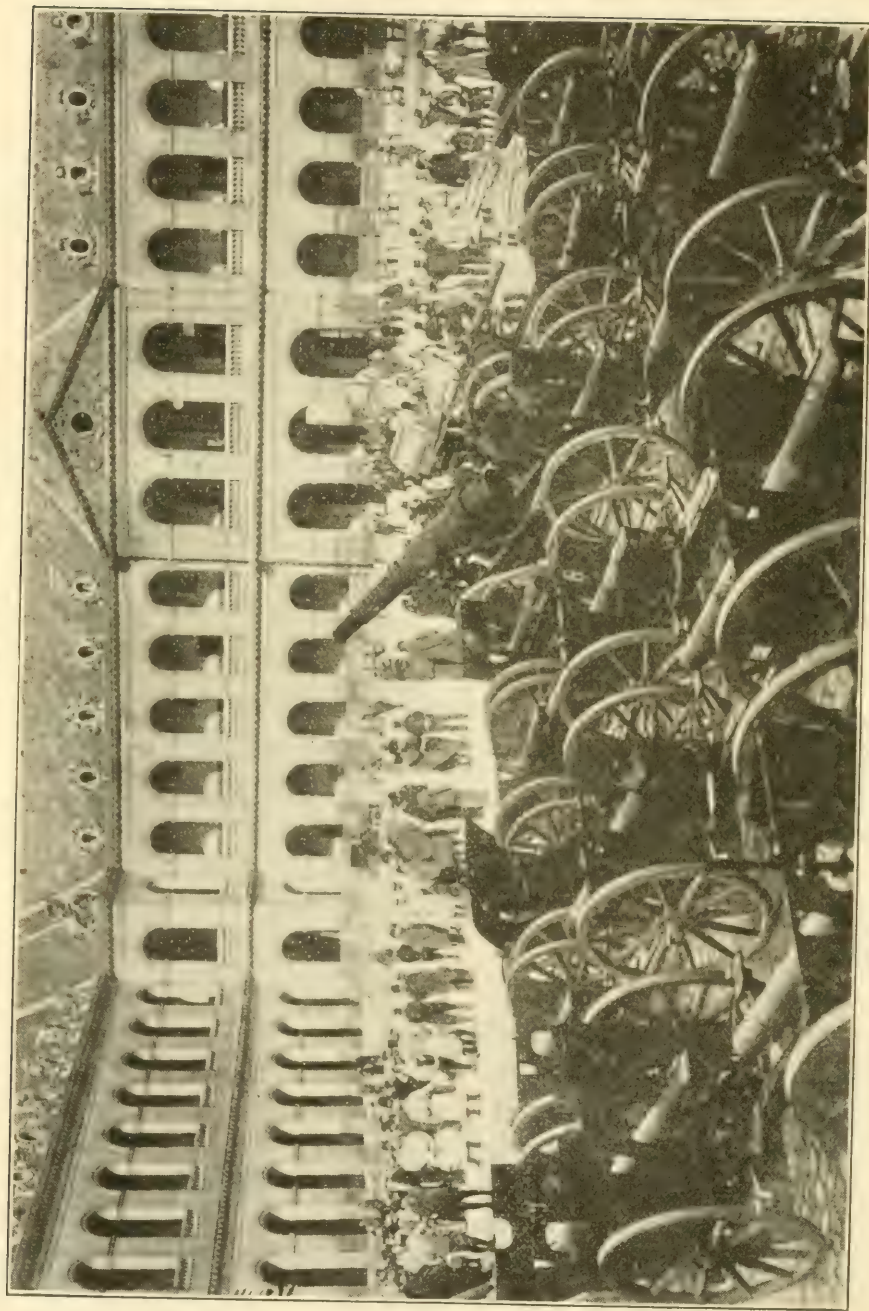
And now, too, America really had an army in France. Before the end of June, her effective soldiers there numbered 1,250,000. Each month afterward brought at least 300,000 more. By September the number exceeded two millions, with a million more already training in America. The Germans could not again take up the offensive for five weeks (June 11–July 15), and in this interval the balance of available man-power turned against them. July 15, they attacked again in great force along the Marne, but this onset broke against a stone-wall resistance of French and American troops. For the first time in the war, a carefully prepared German offensive failed to gain ground.

**Foch's
offensive**

The failure was plain by the 17th. On the 18th, before the Germans could withdraw or reorganize, Foch began his great offensive, by counter-attacking upon the exposed western flank of the invaders. This move took the Germans completely by surprise. Their front all but collapsed along a critical line of twenty-eight miles. Foch allowed them no hour of rest. Unlike his opponents, he did not attempt gigantic attacks, to break through at some one point. Instead, he kept up a continuous offensive, threatening every part of the enemy's front, but striking now here, now there, on one exposed flank and then on another, always ready at a moment to take advantage of a new opening, and giving the enemy no chance to withdraw their forces without imperiling key positions. Before the end of August the Allies had won back all the ground lost in the spring. The Germans had made their last throw — and lost. Foch's pressure never relaxed. In September American divisions on the south end of the front won back St. Mihiel in bloody fighting. At the same time the British toward the north were wrenching great sections of the boasted "Hinden-

St. Mihiel

PLATE CVIII



CAPTURED GERMAN GUNS exhibited in Paris in 1919.

burg Line" from the foe. In the opening days of October *the German commanders reported to Berlin that the war was lost.*

This result was determined largely by *events in the East.* Now that there was no Tsar to interfere, the English and French had deposed and banished King Constantine of Greece; and Venizelos, the new head of the Greek state, was warmly committed to the Allied cause. In September, the Allied force, so long held inactive at Saloniki, suddenly took the offensive, crushing the Bulgarians in a great battle on the Vardar; and Bulgaria's unconditional surrender opened the way for an attack upon Austria from the south.



Victories
in the East

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FERDINAND FOCH.

The preceding year a small British expedition from India had worked its way up the Tigris to Bagdad; and another from Egypt had taken Jerusalem. Now this last army had finally been reinforced, and in September, in a brilliant campaign, it occupied Syria and forced Turkey to make abject submission. Austria, too, had dissolved. Bohemia on one side, and Slovenes, Croats, and Bosnians on the other, were organizing independent governments — with encouragement from America and the Allies. Then, October 24, Italy struck on the Piave. The Austrian army broke in rout. Austria called frantically for an armistice, and even before one was granted (November 4) the ancient Hapsburg Empire had vanished.

Germany had begun to treat for surrender a month earlier, but held out a week longer. October 5, the German Chancellor (now the liberal Prince Max of Baden, who had been a severe critic of Germany's war policy) had asked President Wilson

to arrange an armistice, offering to accept the Fourteen Points as a basis for peace. The reply made it plain once more that America and the Allies would not treat with the old despotic government, and that no armistice would be granted at that late moment which did not secure to the Allies fully the fruits of their military advantages in the field. Meantime the fighting went on, with terrific losses on both sides. The French and Americans, pushing north in the Argonne and across the Meuse, were threatening the trunk railway at Sedan, the only road open for German retreat except the one through Belgium. The British and Belgians pushed the discouraged invaders out of northern France and out of a large part of Belgium. The pursuit at every point was so hot that retreat had to be foot by foot, or in complete rout. As a last desperate throw, the German war lords ordered the Kiel fleet to sea, to engage the English navy; but the common sailors, long on the verge of mutiny, broke into open revolt, while everywhere the Extreme Socialists were openly preparing revolution.

Fall of
Germany

Late in October the War Council of the Allies made known to Germany the terms upon which she could have an armistice preliminary to the drafting of a peace treaty. Germany could save her army from destruction, and her territory would not suffer hostile conquest. But she was to surrender at once Alsace-Lorraine, and withdraw her troops everywhere across the Rhine, leaving the Allies in possession of a broad belt of German territory. She was to surrender practically all her fleet, most of her heavy artillery, her aircraft, and her railway engines. Likewise she was at once to release all prisoners, though her own were to remain in the hands of the Allies. November 11, Germany made this surrender to whatever further conditions the Allies might impose in the final settlement — though they did pledge themselves to base their terms, with certain reservations, upon Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points.

November
11, 1918

Germany had already collapsed internally. November 7, Bavaria deposed her king and proclaimed herself a republic. In Berlin the Moderate Socialists seized the government. State after state followed. November 9, the Kaiser fled to Holland, whence he soon sent his formal abdication.

PLATE CIX



ABOVE. — GERMAN PRISONERS marching under French guard at Camp Joffre.

BELOW. — AMERICAN SOLDIERS in action in the Argonne campaign — with machine gun.

CHAPTER LXV

SINCE THE WAR

January 18, 1919, the Peace Congress met at Versailles to reconstruct Europe. There was supreme need. *In Germany* a National Assembly (elected by true universal suffrage, male and female) had set up a federal republic. The new government was in the control of a union of "Moderate Socialists" and "German Democrats" (the old Liberals); but it had to maintain itself precariously against revolts of "Extreme Socialists" of the Bolshevik type, while from the opposite side it was threatened with aristocratic army-officer plots for monarchic restoration.

**Danger of
anarchy in
Central
Europe**

**The Ger-
man Re-
public**

Hungary for a time had tried a liberal republican government. But the Allied blockade, stupidly continued, made work and food scarce, so that the starving populace soon set up a Bolshevik rule. (A little later, it may be added here, two more revolutions, secretly backed by the Allied Council at Paris, had replaced this government, first by a Moderate Socialist government and then by a reactionary army-officer government which is republican in little but name.) Meantime Roumania had taken advantage of Hungary's woes to declare war; and the Roumanian army had ravaged the country for months as savagely as ever Germany did Belgium, even after Hungary had assented to all Roumania's demands for cessions of territory.

Hungary

Bohemia, enlarged by the addition of Moravia, had become *Czechoslovakia*. This republic has so far been the most stable and promising of the new states in Central Europe; but at the time it was distracted by conflicts with Germany, with Austria, and with Poland, over conflicting boundary claims. That new *Republic of Poland*, too, had other contests, bordering on war, upon her remaining frontiers—with Russian Bolsheviks

**Czecho-
slovakia**

**New Baltic
States**

and with Germany — besides being torn with internal faction and with peasant massacres of her Jews. Like anarchy, rising into civil wars, held sway in every other of the chain of border states that had split off from Russia, — *Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Courland, Lithuania, Ukrainia.*

Jugo-slavia

Further to the south, *Serbia* had become *Jugoslavia*, by the



CENTRAL EUROPE IN 1919.

long-sought union with Bosnia, Slavonia, and Croatia; but that still inharmonious state was in daily peril of war with Italy over the Adriatic coast, with some actual armed clashes. And Italy was at daggers drawn with Greece over southern Albania, the islands of the Aegean, and the coasts of Asia Minor.

Each country felt, with too much reason, that the more it could lay hands on before the settlement, the more it would

finally keep, and so sought to grab as much as possible in the interval. Still more serious than this political chaos was the demoralization of industry. Millions of disbanded soldiers were returning to their homes, after years of trench life, to find neither work nor food. Lack of shipping made it a slow process to bring into Central Europe the raw materials needed to start the factory wheels again and to replace the machinery worn out during the long Allied blockade. Over wide areas, idle multitudes were suffering from insufficient food; and this distress was the harder to bear because in every country thousands of war-profiters were spending their shameful riches in insolent waste.

**Industrial
demoral-
ization**

The Peace Congress was made up of delegations from the twenty-three Allied governments, with five more from England's colonies — Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and India. Each country's delegation had one vote. Countries that had been neutral were invited to send representatives to be called in upon special matters that might concern them. Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Russia were allowed no representation.

**The Peace
Congress**

President Wilson headed the American delegation; Lloyd George and Orlando, the English and Italian premiers, represented their countries; and Clemenceau, head of the French delegation, was naturally chosen president of the assembly. These leaders made up the "Big Four," and part of the time this inner circle became the "Big Five" by the inclusion of the Japanese representative.

**The "Big
Four"**

From the first there were critical differences within the "Big Four." Mr. Wilson had promised the world, *Germany included*, "a permanent peace based on unselfish, unbiased justice," and "a new international order based upon broad universal principles of right." Lloyd George was inclined to sympathy with such a program; but he was sadly hampered in action, because, in the parliamentary elections just before, he had won by appealing to the worst war passions of the English people. The other leaders thought President Wilson, in Clemenceau's words,

**Woodrow
Wilson**

merely a benevolent dreamer of Utopias, and they preferred to rest rearrangements upon the old methods of rival alliances and armed camps, to maintain a balance of power — a plan which bloody centuries had proved a seed bed of war.

By the war-weary *peoples* of Europe, however, the Wilson program was at first hailed with joy. While the diplomats were



"THE BIG FOUR." — Lloyd George, Orlando, Clemenceau, Wilson.

skillfully delaying the meeting of the assembly, he journeyed through England, France, and Italy, received everywhere by the working masses with striking demonstrations as "the president of all of us," the apostle of world peace and human brotherhood. For a time it looked as though he might at a pinch override the hostile attitude of the governments by appealing over their heads to the peoples themselves; and in a great speech at Milan, just after slurring attacks upon him by French statesmen, he hinted forcefully at such a possibility.

But as months passed in wearisome negotiations, old animosities began to show in each nation toward neighboring peoples, until this chance for generous unanimity was lost. Moreover, Mr. Wilson had been seriously weakened by events

Weakened
by events
in America

at home. Late in the campaign for Congressional elections in the preceding November, he had made an unfortunate appeal for indorsement of his policies by a Democratic victory. Instead, the elections gave both Houses to the Republicans; and the jubilant and vengeful victors at once entered upon a course of bitter criticism and obstruction — of which Mr. Wilson's European opponents took shrewd advantage to weaken his influence at Paris.

In spite of Mr. Wilson's declaration for *open* negotiations (p. 645) the European diplomats, with their traditions of back-stair intrigue, carried the point for only occasional full and public meetings. Meantime all important matters were settled by the inner circle in secret conclave, so that the six public meetings of the Congress (up to July) were called merely for formal ratification of conclusions already arrived at by the "Big Four."

Secret
negotiation

To offset this disappointment, Mr. Wilson seemed for a while to have won a splendid victory for a "League of Nations." Three months before America entered the war (January 22, 1917), as his last peace effort, he had read to the American Congress a notable address proposing *a League of Nations to enforce peace*, — a peace made by free peoples (among whom the *small* nations should have their full voice), secured "by the organized major force of mankind." This address itself was one of the mighty events in history. Individuals had dreamed sometimes of a world organization for peace and progress; but then for the first time did an authorized spokesman of a great nation bring that idea into the realm of practical statesmanship. Now Mr. Wilson felt unhesitatingly that the building of such a world league was the most important work of the Versailles Congress — and indeed a necessary prelude to any peace other than one of vengeance and booty.

Covenant
for a League
of Nations

In March, after some weeks of consideration, a committee headed by Mr. Wilson made public a League covenant (constitution) it had prepared. After sharp criticism in the United States Senate, this constitution was slightly modified, and then

adopted by the Peace Congress. The union is very loose, and its managing bodies are not really a government. Charter membership was offered to forty-five nations, — all the then organized governments in the world except Russia, the four “enemy countries,” and Costa Rica, San Domingo, and Mexico. Admission of new members, and other amendments, require the unanimous consent of England, France, Italy, and Japan (and America, if she joins the League), together with a majority vote of all states; and for any other action of consequence the consent of all nations is demanded, except that no party to a dispute has a voice in its settlement. Wise provisions prohibit secret treaties in future, and seek to provide for disarmament (though only by unanimous consent), for regulation of manufacture of munitions, for compulsory arbitration, and for *delay* in recourse to war even if an arbitration is unsatisfactory.

The Ger-
man treaty

Meantime the French delegation, frankly skeptical as to the value of a League, had devoted itself to securing treaties of peace that should render Germany powerless to attack France again. Germany protested in vain against the rigor of the terms, but June 28 her helpless delegates (summoned to Versailles for the purpose) signed the dictated treaty. The document would fill nearly half of this volume. Its main provisions, with those of subsequent treaties with the other “enemy countries,” may be summarized briefly: —

Germany's military power was destroyed. Her navy was limited for the future to six battleships and six light cruisers, with *no* submarines; and her army is not to exceed 100,000 men — with a careful restriction, too, upon her manufacture of munitions.

Germany's old colonial empire was turned over to England, Belgium, and Japan, in accordance with a secret treaty under which Japan had entered the war. (This division of plunder was faintly cloaked under a pretense that England and Japan were to be merely “mandatories” for the League of Nations, holding these backward districts as “a sacred trust for civilization.” At the first session of the League Assembly, in November of 1920, some of the small nations desired to establish rules



CLEMENCEAU DELIVERING TO THE GERMAN DELEGATES THE TERMS OF PEACE, May 7, 1919. Clemenceau is standing on the right. The Germans are seated just in front of him. In curt sentences the French premier announced their fate to the conquered. Germany did not sign until June 23, the last day of grace.

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for that "trusteeship"; but the English representative declared flatly that no action there taken could "limit the freedom of action of his government." Moreover, Shantung with its forty million people remained in Japan's hands, without even the pretext of a "mandate," in spite of the vigorous protest of China.)

Germany lost a fifth of her territory and population in Europe, with her most valuable coal deposits. She not only returned Danish Sleswig¹ to Denmark and Alsace-Lorraine to France, but also ceded three small areas to Belgium, and to Poland not merely her old Polish districts but also large strips of distinctly German territory in Upper Silesia and east of the Vistula. Moreover, to give Poland easy access to the sea, German Dantzig became a "free" city (against its will), with roundabout provisions that leave it really subject to Poland. Likewise, by veiled annexation, France has possibly acquired the Saar valley, east of Alsace, with a solid German population.²

The dismembered Austrian Empire, besides the territorial secessions already noted (p. 651), very properly ceded Galicia to Poland, Transylvania to Roumania, and Trieste and the Trentino to Italy; but, in connection with this last cession, in order to provide Italy with a needless "strategic frontier" against Austria, that enfeebled country was compelled to cede also a strip of strictly German territory (the Brenner Pass in the Alps) with a quarter of a million of German people. In these ways, Hungary was reduced to about one third its former

**The Aus-
trian treaty**

¹Sleswig determined its own fate (as the treaty had provided) by plebiscites. Denmark showed an honorable and wise desire to annex only such districts as desired it, and readily acquiesced in the retention of two thirds of the old duchy by Germany. Parts of Upper Silesia were also to have settled their own fate; but France and Poland managed later to take from Germany rich districts of that region in spite of an overwhelming German vote there.

²The treaty very properly gave France the Saar coal mines for fifteen years (under the control of an international commission dominated by France), in return for Germany's wanton ruin of French mines; but unhappily, it also provided that at the end of that time France should annex the district absolutely (even though the inhabitants should vote against that action) unless Germany should then pay at once the full value of the mines. Other provisions of the treaty (below) made it very probable that Germany would be unable to do that.

size; and *German Austria is left a petty state of 7,000,000 people grouped about Vienna* ("a capital without a country") shut off from the sea, with its old markets and mines all gone and with little agricultural land. (This Austria has dragged out the years since the treaty in cruel starvation meagerly relieved by Allied charity. The land can raise at best only a sixth of its necessary food, and it has practically no other industrial resources. The people naturally desire incorporation into Germany; but, at French insistence, the Peace Congress forbade this very natural application of the promised principle of "self-determination" because it might strengthen Germany.)

Minor
treaties

In the complex Balkan readjustments, it was found difficult to follow the promised "lines of nationality"; but Greece and Serbia were given new territory on the north Aegean coast at the expense of Bulgaria — which was now shut off from the sea except by the route of the Danube.

"Turkey" was reduced to Asia Minor, although Constantinople and "the Zone of the Straits" were also left in Turkish possession subject to the control of an international commission and open to ships of all nations. Armenia and Arabia (the Kingdom of Hejaz) were declared independent states. Smyrna went to Greece; most of the Aegean islands to Italy; Syria (much against its will) to France; and Mesopotamia equally unwillingly to England. (In the main this arrangement was a frank surrender to arrogant imperialism, French and English; and these "protectors" of Mesopotamia and Syria have been compelled to maintain their authority by bloody campaigns. As a by-product of these arrangements, too, and of the collapse of Russia, English imperialism has secured control of all Persia. Moreover, in 1921, dissatisfied Greece went to war with Turkey for more plunder in Asia Minor.) It should be added that, to the chagrin of the Arabs now in possession, Palestine was set aside, under English protection, for a home for a restored Jewish state — if Jews return there in sufficient numbers.

The Ger-
man indem-
nity

Most troublesome of all was the question of the money "reparations" to be paid by Germany. That country was required to pay at once some five billions of dollars in gold and in goods

PLATE CXI



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LLOYD GEORGE AND ARISTIDE BRIAND (the French premier) in conference at Cannes in August, 1921. After the close of the Peace Congress in the fall of 1919, the real government of Europe lay in an "Allied Council" holding frequent sessions and made up of representatives of the leading European "Allies." The premiers of France and England were "the Big Two" of this Council through 1920-1921. Lloyd George, responding to liberal English feeling, soon showed a desire to adopt a gentler policy toward Germany. Toward the close, Briand was beginning to incline slightly in the same direction; but this so offended the anti-German feeling in the French Assembly that he was obliged to resign.

(all then available), besides promising to supply many millions of tons of coal each year for ten years to Belgium, Italy, and France (in addition to the Saar arrangement). Further payments were left to be fixed by an Allied commission when it should be better known what the damages were and how much it would be possible to take; and until final payment was made a French army was to occupy the German districts west of the Rhine. France showed strong inclination to keep the total indemnity indefinite as long as possible, taking meanwhile from time to time all that could be found; but Lloyd George and English public feeling gradually swung over to the opinion that German industry could not be expected to revive with its neck in a perpetually strangling noose; and in February of 1921 the commission fixed the total indemnity at about fifty-six billions of dollars, to be paid in installments over forty years. Germany protested that this was an impossible sum, and many experts in the Allied countries declared it to be three or four times more than Germany could pay; but France advanced her army of occupation further into German territory, willing apparently to retain such territory permanently in place of the money reparation. By selling paper money to foreign speculators (mainly American), Germany then did secure gold enough for the first two installments; but that currency depreciated to almost nothing, so that this process cannot be repeated; and at this writing (March, 1922) the German indemnity remains a chief cause of world demoralization.

England and the United States formerly sold vast quantities of goods to Germany. Germany now has no wealth with which to buy, — which is one cause why English and American factories are idle (1922) and American farm products of little value. Moreover, if Germany is to pay any further indemnity, she must get the gold by exporting factory goods. To do that she must undersell English and American factories in some market (to the still greater demoralization of the trade of those countries). Therefore England insisted that Germany must place a heavy *export* tax upon her own goods. This makes it difficult for her to undersell England — but it also makes it well-nigh impossible

And world
trade

for her to get gold wherewith to pay indemnities. The world is slowly discovering that, under the delicate adjustments of modern trade relations, it is not an easy thing to take a huge indemnity in money from one country without injuring many other countries.

The secret treaties

Many of the objectionable features in the treaties were due to the secret bargains for division of spoils by which the Allies had bought the aid of Japan and Italy. When the Congress met, those bargains were not generally known; but it soon became clear that they would prevent a peace closely in accord with the Fourteen Points. For a time Mr. Wilson stood out against the Congress becoming "a Congress for booty"; and once (when Orlando insisted that Italy should have Croatian Fiume, the natural Adriatic door for Jugoslavia) he even cabled to America for his ship. This extreme threat prevented that particular act of plunder — though Orlando was so incensed that he left the Congress for some weeks; and in the end Mr. Wilson was induced to reconcile himself cordially to the treaty for the sake of securing the League of Nations.

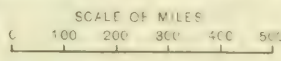
Criticism of the Versailles treaty


As soon as the treaty with Germany was made public, however, it was denounced vehemently by many earnest thinkers in all lands. Indeed some of the experts attached to the American delegation had already resigned in protest; and Jan Smuts, South Africa's hero-statesman, declared in a formal statement that he signed for his country only because peace *must* be made at once and because he hoped that the worst features of the treaty might be modified later by the League of Nations. Such criticism had little or nothing to do with sympathy for Germany. It was based upon the conviction that the treaty was dishonorable to the victors, inasmuch as it broke faith with a submissive foe after surrender, and that it would breed future wars — and so broke faith even more fatally with hundreds of thousands of splendid youth who gave their lives, in long torment and suffering, to "win a war that should end war." At the same time the severest critic must confess that the new map made at Versailles is at least a tremendous advance over the old map of 1914, with political divisions drawn far more according to the



EUROPE

Showing New Boundary Lines



 Internationalized Territory



reasonable and natural lines of race and language and popular desires.

In America there was much opposition to joining the League of Nations. President Wilson's influence finally rallied the Democratic Senators in favor of ratification of the Covenant without modification. With equal unanimity, the Republicans opposed it — but upon two widely different grounds. A small section declared that for America to join *any* such "super-government" would sacrifice her sovereign independence; that we were able to take care of ourselves, and should let the rest of the world look after itself. A much larger group objected to particular features of this Covenant, but agreed that it was no longer possible for America to hold aloof from Europe. Said Ex-President Taft:

"The argument that to enter this covenant is a departure from the time-honored policy of avoiding 'entangling alliances' is an argument that is blind to changing conditions. . . . The war ended that policy. . . . It was impossible for us to maintain the *theory* of an isolation which did not exist *in fact*. It will be equally impossible for us to keep out of another general European war. We are just as much interested in preventing such a war as if we were in Europe."

Republican Senators, representing this view, added to the covenant certain amendments, with which they were willing to ratify. President Wilson claimed that such amendments would make ratification invalid; and against his influence the Republicans could not muster the necessary two thirds vote in the Senate. The Democrats failed likewise to secure the necessary votes for ratification in the original form. While touring the country to arouse support for the covenant, President Wilson suffered a distressing physical breakdown, and the whole question hung fire for many months. In 1920, the President hoped to make the election of his successor a "solemn referendum" upon the matter. As usual in American politics, too many other questions entered into the campaign to leave any one issue absolutely clear cut; but the Republican "landslide" victory shelved any probability of the United States entering the League for years to come.

The United States refuses to enter the League

The League has accomplished some useful work in settling minor European differences, and it has admitted several new members — Austria, Bulgaria, Finland, Luxemburg, Costa Rica, and Albania ; but the absence of the United States (now the most powerful and richest country in the world) seriously handicaps its usefulness, — especially as Germany and Russia are still excluded. It is far from being a world organization.

Bolshevist Russia

Another disturbing factor in the slow return of world progress, which the Peace Congress did little to help, was Bolshevist Russia. After the fall of the Tsar, society in Russia collapsed. Criminals, singly or in bands, worked their will, unchecked by any government, in robbery, outrage, and murder, not only in country districts but even in the public streets of great cities. The cities were starving; and speculators were increasing the agony by hoarding supplies to sell secretly to the rich at huge profits. Our papers, especially in their cartoons, ascribed all this to the Bolsheviks — *who in reality put it down in many districts*. Kerensky had proved utterly unable to grapple with the situation; but when the Bolsheviks came to power, they shot the bandits in batches, and meted out like swift punishment to “forestallers” of food. In such summary proceedings, many innocent persons suffered along with the guilty; but at least Russia was saved from reverting to savagery. Gradually order and quiet were restored; and the available food was “rationed” rigidly, the Bolsheviks taking particular care of children of all classes.

The soviet system

The Bolsheviks claimed to give political citizenship to all useful workers — including teachers, actors, physicians, engineers, and industrial managers, but excluding the idle (rich or poor) along with bankers and lawyers, for which classes their society has no place. Their governing bodies represent, not individual citizens (as our Western governments do), but the different kinds of industries. In each “district,” there is a shoemakers’ union, a teachers’ union, and so on. Each such union chooses delegates to the soviet (p. 592) of the district. These district soviets are local governments; and further

all of them within a given province send delegates to a higher "provincial soviet." Delegates from the various provincial soviets make up the central and supreme soviet at Petrograd. (All delegates are subject to recall *at any time* by the bodies that elected them.)

For the first time in history on a large scale, this government at once put into actual operation an extreme kind of socialism, along with the confiscation of most private property. This alarmed the propertied classes everywhere.¹ The Allies at Paris did not think it safe to let the Bolshevist system work out its own failure, but, fearing its spread to their own lands, attempted to overthrow it by force. Among the various reasons for this action on the part of the Allies, two stand out particularly: (1) Members of the Bolshevist government unwisely and blatantly preached a coming revolution for the world outside their own borders; and (2) the Bolshevist plan had not been put into operation by the deliberate will of the Russian nation, but rather by a skillful *coup d'état* on the part of the small but perfectly organized class of town workers.

Indeed, the Bolshevist leaders frankly proclaim that (until they can train up a new generation) their government is not to be a democracy but a "dictatorship of the proletariat," representing a very small part of the nation. Apportionment of delegates to the soviets is arranged, openly, so that ten peasants have no more weight than one factory worker. But the ignorant peasants (still making more than ninety per cent of the nation) were so poorly organized, and so content with the lands they had been permitted to appropriate, that they acquiesced passively; and the small capitalist and professional classes were quickly suppressed. The Bolshevists seized control of the army and the press, and put down despotically all public agitation against their socialist system. At first, to be sure, they treated the old capitalist class with consideration so far

Free speech
suppressed

¹ These classes, too, especially in France, held the millions of dollars' worth of old Russian bonds, which the Bolshevists now unwisely repudiated on the ground that the Tsars had secured the money to hold the Russian people in bondage.

**The red
terror**

as concerned their personal safety. But a little later, when the world was attacking Russia in open war, and when the dispossessed Russian classes were carrying on a campaign of assassination of Bolshevist leaders and had struck down Lenin with a dangerous wound, the Bolsheviks adopted a deliberate policy of "Terror," arresting and executing some thousands of "aristocrats," until internal opposition was crushed. This parallels the story of the French Revolution except that the Russian "Terror," bloody as it was, was shorter and less atrocious than the French.

**Allied sup-
port for
"emigrant"
invaders**

Even before the Terror, the various non-socialist forces might have rallied, to overthrow or at least to modify Bolshevism, if a despotic blunder of the Allies had not identified Bolshevist rule with Russian patriotism. Like the French "emigrant" nobles of 1792, the Russian courtiers and nobles in 1917, fleeing from the Revolution, levied war against the new government of their country from without — with foreign aid. Supplied lavishly by the Allies and America with arms and money, they at first won some success. *Kolchak* for a time held most of Siberia, — succeeded, when the Bolsheviks crushed him, by the Japanese; *Denekin*, and later *Wrangel*, began invasion from Ukrainia; and *Mannerheim* threatened Petrograd from the west. (It is to be added that hostile Roumania and Poland and small reactionary armies in the other new Baltic states, with the Allied blockade of Archangel, made the cordon complete.) All these Russian emigrant leaders claimed that they desired constitutional government, but soon their deeds proved that they plotted for the restoration of despotism, and the needless and unspeakable atrocities of the various "White" terrors that followed their early successes at least equaled the excesses charged against the Bolsheviks.

**Russian
people
rally patri-
otically to
the govern-
ment**

It had been claimed that the masses of the Russian people, encouraged by the presence of invading armies, would rally to overthrow Bolshevist tyranny. Instead they rallied to the Bolsheviks, to drive out foreign invaders. Especially did the leading "intellectuals" of Russia, like the famous author Maxim Gorky, now offer their services to that government,

although many of them had just been suffering bitterly from it. The Russian organization showed amazing ability, and before 1920 the newly created "Red army" swept the invaders from Russian soil, except for the Japanese in far-eastern Siberia. True, there followed twelve months more of war with Poland, aided freely with French money and officers and American munitions;¹ but at last, by wise diplomacy, Russia secured peace in that quarter also.

The Allied "blockade" of Russia, however, lasted on in fact into 1921. The small Baltic states, from which she had won peace, had no resources for trade; and though England and America had technically lifted the blockade some months earlier, both continued to refuse passports and even mail and wire communication. This policy absolutely prevented trade. Meantime the lack of food and of medical supplies — which the Bolshevist government was eager to pay for in gold — killed more people (mainly mothers, young babies, and other hospital cases) than a great war. The blockade, too, kept Russia from getting cotton or rubber for her factories, or locomotives for her railroads, or machinery for her agriculture; *and so gave the Bolsheviks a plausible excuse for the slowness of their industrial revival.*

The Russian
"blockade"

Then there descended on unhappy Russia in 1921-2 the most horrible famine ever known even in that land of famines. When the large tracts of the former propertied class, which used to be farmed by machinery, were turned over to the peasants by the Revolution, it was impossible for them to cultivate these on as extensive a scale as formerly, because they lacked organization and machinery. To aggravate this condition Russia was visited by a long drought of unheard-of severity which resulted in a crop of only one-fortieth the average, so that, in the absence of trade with the world, millions were stolidly dying of hunger. This unparalleled suffering touched the heart of the world; and for months

The Rus-
sian fam-
ine of
1921-2

¹ For a time the English government, it was believed, planned to send an English army; but such a project was effectively barred by the unanimous slogan from English organized labor — "not a man, not a gun, not a penny!"

(February, 1922) governments and charitable organizations have been hurrying food and clothing to the stricken land.

**The war
and civili-
zation**

In the World War fifty-nine million men served in arms — nearly all the physically fit of the leading peoples on the globe. These suffered thirty-three million casualties, of which fourteen million were deaths or irremediable mutilation and ruin, besides an incalculable number of vitiated constitutions. Almost as many more *non-combatants* were victims of famine and pestilence. And the evil runs over into future generations. In all the warring countries the birthrate has declined alarmingly and the human quality has deteriorated. As to material wealth, a huge portion of all that the world had been slowly storing up for generations has gone and in many districts all machinery for producing wealth is in ruins.

Indeed the world had used up its prospects for long to come. Future generations are mortgaged to pay the war debts. America entered the struggle late, and made comparatively little sacrifice; but even this country came out of the war with a debt larger than the total receipts of its treasury in all its century and a half of history.¹ England suffered less than the continent; but in England, merely to keep up the interest on the debt, along with her old annual expenditure, the nation must raise five billions of dollars a year — which means a taxation per family of about twenty times that which an average American family paid before the war. The totals of French and German indebtedness are so huge as to have little meaning to us.

This financial distress is tremendously aggravated by disorder in the currency in European lands. During the war years, or very soon after, nearly all the gold of the world passed into America. Most continental countries have *no* money except a terribly depreciated paper money, — money worth in Germany about one fortieth its face, and in Austria less than one two-hundredth. This demoralizes all industry at home,

¹ This does not include some ten million dollars lent by America to the Allies during the war, the payment of which is problematical.

creates bitter suffering for the poor and for people living on salaries and other fixed incomes, and of itself it could prevent the revival of foreign trade.

The World War struck civilization a staggering blow, but there are hopeful signs that the warning has not been in vain.

Pacific
questions

Two of the great powers suffered little directly from that war, — the United States and Japan. Between these two there were old causes of irritation; and the war left with them new disputes — as to Japan's relations to China (and to American trade there); as to her control of Pacific cables wrested from Germany; and so on. At once the two countries entered upon an open and ominous rivalry in enlarging their navies, upon a scale never before dreamed of, and in fortifying their Pacific possessions. To any one who held in mind the lessons of the past, all this indicated at least a serious danger that America and Japan might soon drift into another annihilating war — which of course would quickly involve the rest of the exhausted world.

Wise statesmanship has for the present removed this peril. Diplomatic negotiation of the usual sort was failing to lessen the danger; but in the summer of 1921, Mr. Harding, President of the United States, called an international conference at Washington to consider the limitation of naval armaments and the matters of dispute in the Pacific. This *Washington Conference* was attended, of course, by representatives of England, France, Italy, and Japan, and also of four smaller powers with interests in the Pacific — China, Portugal, Belgium, and Holland. Charles Evans Hughes, the American Secretary of State, presided. (China, not unnaturally perhaps, was present in the part of a petitioner rather than in that of an equal partner in conclusions.)

The Wash-
ington Con-
ference of
November,
1921

The Conference opened November 12, 1921, and continued twelve weeks. On the opening day Mr. Hughes took away the breath of the world by making public a detailed proposal for naval reduction. America and England, according to this plan, should keep navies of equal power; Japan should have three fifths the strength of either of them; each of the three was to

The "naval
holiday"

scrap all new ships in construction and a certain proportion of its old vessels;¹ and no new warship should be begun by any of them for ten years.

Eventually the Conference adopted the proposal with no essential change. It also provided for stopping the fortification



AMERICAN WARSHIPS IN NEW YORK HARBOR. The super-dreadnought, *Utah*, in the foreground, has a tonnage of some 21,000. The ships under construction, but scrapped after the Washington Conference, would have been much larger, as indeed are several of the vessels now in commission.

of Pacific Islands by America and Japan. England and Japan agreed that it was unnecessary to renew their twenty-year alliance (p. 606), which was about to expire and which many Americans regarded as a menace. And the great cable stations in the Pacific, at the island of Yap and elsewhere, were opened freely to the United States and other countries before shut out from them.

¹ All this applied to "capital ships," — dreadnoughts, super-dreadnoughts, and armored cruisers (such ships as are valuable not so much for defense as for attack). The United States scraps thirty ships, sixteen of them under construction upon which she had already expended a third of a billion dollars.

China got less than she wanted, and less than America would have been pleased to see her get; but she got much. Japan withdrew the most offensive of her twenty-one points (p. 613) — which had required China to accept Japanese officials into her administration in order to care for Japan's interests in China; and she promised definitely to surrender Shantung at the end of five years, upon condition that China at that time should pay a specified and not unreasonable price for the railroad built there by Germany and Japan. England freely returned Waihaiwai to China (p. 608). All the powers, too, surrendered certain peculiar rights which they had enjoyed, beyond the control of the Chinese government, — rights which had been a humiliation to Chinese dignity and which often became a cover for exploitation. All, too, agreed to maintain in future an "open door" policy in their relations with China, and to make public at once any future treaty with that country.

Some justice
for China

The unfortunate attitude of France made it impossible to secure any agreement to reduce land armaments or to accomplish anything worth while in submarine reduction. Many other valuable suggestions came to naught for the time. But the actual accomplishment of the Washington Conference is full of promise for the world. It has made war between the great powers over Pacific questions almost unthinkable for at least ten years — and it has pointed a way by which statesmen may use that interval to render future wars impossible.

A promise
of better
things

Americans have every reason to rejoice proudly that the proposal for a "naval holiday" came from our country. From no other could it have come with so good a grace. America, far richer now than any other land, could at least stand the waste and expense of naval preparedness better than any other great nation could. For America, then, to suggest waiving that "advantage," showed a splendid faith in reason, rather than in violence, for the settlement of international controversies.

WE, here in America, hold in our hands the fate of the world, the hope of coming years; and shame and disgrace will be ours if in our eyes the light of high resolve is dimmed, if we trail in the dust the golden hopes of man.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

APPENDIX

A SELECT LIST OF BOOKS ON MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY FOR HIGH SCHOOLS

Starred volumes should be present in multiple copies.

FROM COLUMBUS TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

- Beard, *Martin Luther*. London.
Beazley, *Prince Henry the Navigator* ("Heroes"). Putnam.
Bourne, E. G., *Spain in America* (Am. Nation Series). Harpers.
Bradley, *Wolfe*. Macmillan.
Fletcher, *Gustavus Adolphus* ("Heroes"). Putnam.
Fox-Bourne, *Sir Philip Sidney* ("Heroes"). Putnam.
Harrison, F., *William the Silent*. Macmillan.
Lindsay, T. W., *Luther and the German Reformation*. Scribner.
Parkman, Francis, *New France and Montcalm and Wolfe*. Little,
Brown, & Co.
Seeley, *Expansion of England*. Macmillan.

FROM 1789 TO THE PRESENT TIME

- *Anderson, F. M., *Constitutions and Other Documents Illustrative of the
History of France, 1789-1907*. H. W. Wilson Co.; White Plains,
N. Y.
Andrews, C. M., *Historical Development of Modern Europe*. (From
1815 to 1897.) Putnam.
Barker, J. E., *Modern Germany*. London.
Cesaresco, *Cavour*. Macmillan.
Crawford, *Switzerland To-day* (1911). New York.
*Gardiner, Mrs. B. M., *French Revolution* ("Epochs"). Longmans.
Gibbons, H. A., *New Map of Europe* (1911-1914). The Century Co.
*Hayes, Carleton, *Modern Europe*. 2 vols. Macmillan (Vol. II covers
1815-1915).
— *The Great War*. Macmillan.
**Hazen, C. D., *Europe since 1815*. Holt.
Headlam, J. W., *Bismarck* ("Heroes"). Putnam.
Johnston and Spencer, *Ireland's Story*.
King, Bolton, *History of Italian Unity, 1814-1871*. Scribner.
Kirkup, T., *History of Socialism*. Macmillan.
Loreburn (The Earl of), *How the War Came* (World War). London.
An admirable study by an anti-imperialistic Englishman.

Lowell, E. J., *Eve of the French Revolution*.

Lloyd, A *Sovereign People* (Switzerland). New York.

***McCarthy, Justin**, *Epoch of Reform, 1830-1850* ("Epochs"). Longmans. (An admirable volume on English history.)

— *England in the Nineteenth Century*. Putnam.

— *England under Gladstone*. London.

***Mathews, Shailer**, *French Revolution*. Longmans.

***Ogg, F. A.**, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe* (1789-1912). Macmillan.

***Phillips, W. A.**, *Modern Europe* (1815-1900). Macmillan.

Rose, J. H., *Napoleon*. Macmillan.

*— *Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era*. Cambridge Press

*— *Rise of Democracy in Great Britain*. New York.

Russell, *German Social Democracy*. Longmans.

Spargo, John, *Elements of Socialism*. Macmillan.

Stephens, H. Morse, *Revolutionary Europe, 1789-1815*. Macmillan.

Wallace (and others), *Progress of the Century* (Nineteenth). Harpers.

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Pronunciation, except for familiar names and terms, is shown by division into syllables and accentuation. When diacritical marks for English names are needed, the common marks of Webster's Dictionaries are used. German and French pronunciation can be indicated only imperfectly to those who are not familiar with the languages; but attention is called to the following marks: \bar{a} and $\bar{\alpha}$ = \bar{e} ; $\bar{i}\bar{e}$ = \bar{i} ; the soft aspirated guttural sound *g* of the German is marked *g*; the corresponding *ch* (as in *ich*) is marked *κ*; the sound of the nasal French *n* is marked \tilde{n} ; for the German *ä* and *äu* the equivalents are indicated, to prevent confusion with English *ä*; *ö* is always the German letter; and *ü* is the German sound which is equivalent to French *u*. In French words with an accent on the final syllable, that accent only is marked; but it should be understood that in such words the syllables as a rule receive nearly equal stress. Silent letters are put in *Italic*.

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